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No. 1399

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INFLUENCE OF SOVIET NATIONALITY POLICY ON LATIN AMERICA SURVEYED

Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 12, Dec 82 pp 8-26

[Article by A. F. Shul'govskiy: "In the Search for National Uniqueness and Social Ideals (Latin America and the Experience of Creating the Multinational Soviet State)"]

[Text] "...In traveling the roads of the universe, the roads of the ecumene...we come ever-closer to ourselves."

J. C. Mariategui

When glorious historical dates related to the formation and development of our country are being celebrated, Soviet Latin Americanists endeavor to analyze the reasons for that broad social echo which such major markers cause in Latin America. Naturally, at present, when the 60th anniversary of the formation of the USSR is being celebrated, we return to this subject. "The formation and successful development of the USSR is of permanent international significance and marks an important historic line in the age-old struggle of progressive mankind for equal rights and friendship of peoples, for the revolutionary renewal of the world."¹

In the Latin American countries the peoples of which possess rich traditions in the liberation struggle and progressive humanistic social thought, all that is related to the founding and development of the multinational Soviet state causes profound and lively interest. This is completely natural. The statements by representatives from the various strata of Latin American society and by persons of various political and religious persuasions about Great October and the world historical importance of the formation of the Soviet multinational state not only reflect personal destinies and searches. Behind these stand entire ages and strata of sociopolitical and spiritual life, the experience of many generations which have sought a solution to the most acute problems of the continent's peoples. In the unceasing and unstinting search for a social ideal, the progressive representatives of Latin American social thought have constantly turned to the Soviet Union, seeing in the history of our state an example for the development of a new community of peoples struggling to achieve justice and equality.

The renowned Marxist thinker and founder of the Peruvian Communist Party, Jose Carlos Mariategui, has written: "Socialism, although it was born in Europe

like capitalism, is not a specific and national product of European conditions. It represents a worldwide movement which no nation turning in the orbit of Western civilization can avoid."² For explaining the profound impact of socialist ideas on the political and spiritual life of Latin America, Mariategui also gave other arguments. He repeatedly turned to prerevolutionary Russia and emphasized that Peru and a number of other Latin American countries have many common traits with it in the socioeconomic system such as the existence of a strong communal sector, various forms of exploiting the peasantry based on serfdom and so forth.³

The Chilean anthropologist Alejandro Lipschutz has also written on the proximity of Russia and the Latin American countries. "It is completely to the point of posing the question of the reasons that the ideals of Marx and Lenin have resounded so loudly in Latin America and have been accepted with such enthusiasm there.... The explanation must be sought in the fact that the socioeconomic conditions in Latin America in their basic outlines were analogous to those which existed in the Tsarist Empire prior to October 1917."⁴ Modern philosophers have also reflected on the closeness of the conditions in Russia and Latin America on the historical and culturological level. Among them is the Mexican philosopher Leopoldo Zea. As is known, he views this problem on the level of showing the belonging of Russia, the Latin American countries as well as Spain to the "West" or the "Western world" which would include Western Europe and the United States.⁵ The dialectics of history is such, Leopoldo Zea comments, that the world expansion of Western, that is, capitalistic civilization, its, so to speak, universalization, creates a basis for its negation and here a major role is played by the peoples which have been drawn into its orbit.⁶

On this level a comparative analysis of the contribution of Russia and the Latin American nations to the creation of the social, political and spiritual prerequisites for universalization of the historical process is very fruitful and is of no little interest. The very tardiness of capitalist development in Russia and the Latin American countries and their paths of approaching the "West" have created a particular historical-social and psychological situation whereby an exceptionally important role in spiritual life was played by a social Utopia which was closely tied to revolutionary democracy. This gave it an effective and militant nature. These same particular features of historical development gave rise to a particular susceptibility to the ideas of scientific socialism and Marxism. The widely-known words of Lenin that Russia truly suffered through the revolutionary theory of Marxism are completely applicable to Latin America, too. Here a major role was played by the antibourgeois traditions of the progressive Latin American social thought with its incessant search for establishing national uniqueness. This inevitably led to the evermore decisive negation of the Western "way of life," that is, the capitalist civilization.

An enormous contribution to the shaping of such traditions was made by Simon Bolivar, the outstanding leader and ideologist of the struggle of the peoples in Hispanic America for independence at the start of the last century. Inseparably linked to his name are not only the rise of the independent Latin American states, but also the unstinting search for their best organization on a basis of social justice and high moral and patriotic principles.

The victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution provided a most strong incentive for the struggle of the progressive and patriotic forces in the Latin American nations. In the social transformations of the young Soviet state and its nationality policy they saw an embodiment of many of their aspirations and ideals. The well-known Argentine thinker and social leader Jose Ingenieros has vividly described the mood of the continent's progressive figures: "Starting from the day of victory in November 1917, the Russian revolution was a symbol of the new awareness of mankind and served as a sort of touchstone making it possible to distinguish the supporters of parasitism and labor. All of those who endeavored to just a little 'dress up' the amoral capitalist system belonged to the enemies of Russia while those who were in favor of building a new order on more just principles were its supporters."⁷

The constant and effective propagandizing of the ideas of scientific socialism by the communist parties which arose on the continent and their desire to creatively apply these ideas to Latin American reality altered the spiritual climate in Latin America, arousing ever-greater interest in Marxism, and naturally, in the experience of socialist construction in the Soviet state.

At the beginning of the 1920's, a group of anti-imperialist intellectuals headed by Jose Ingenieros and the Argentine writer and social leader Alfredo Palacios founded the Latin American Union. Its program which was written by Ingenieros envisaged the nationalization of natural resources and the abolishment of the economic privileges of foreign companies as an effective means for countering imperialist suppression. The supporters of the union did not conceal their sympathies for socialism and saw in it the possibility of achieving authentic cultural and spiritual uniqueness.

Widely popular among the intellectuals who were members of the union was the theory of a "cosmic race" created by the Mexican philosopher and statesman Jose Vasconcelos. In his work "The Cosmic Race" written in 1925, he proposed the idea that in Latin America, on the basis of the intense process of mestizaje, an "integral race" or "synthesis race" would be created which was most susceptible to true fraternity and a universal ideology which he saw in socialism.⁸ It should be pointed out that Vasconcelos, like many other supporters of the union, was far from scientific socialism and his ideas had a social catholic tint. However, the very fact of recognizing a socialist future for mankind was very significant. It, of course, reflected the influence which the practice of building a new society in the distant Soviet Russia had introduced into the social awareness of the continent.

It is profoundly natural that, in holding the post of minister of education in the beginning of the 1920's, Vasconcelos showed a great interest in cultural policy under the conditions of the multinational Soviet state. He repeatedly wrote that he would endeavor to utilize in Mexico all the achievements of the Soviet public education system and recognized that his views had been largely influenced by the activities of A. V. Lunacharskiy and his associates in bringing culture to the masses of people. To the most distant corners of the nation, the ministry of education headed by Vasconcelos sent out cultural missions which brought the people the light of knowledge and helped to eliminate illiteracy among the Indian peasants. The works of the classics of world literature and the finest works of Mexican writers were published in large runs and

at a price available for the people. "This is what Lunacharskiy did, this is what Maxim Gorky did," commented Vasconcelos.⁹

The collaboration of the Marxists with the representatives of the intelligentsia united in the ranks of the Latin American Union and its sympathizers was a vivid page in the political, cultural and spiritual life of the Latin American countries. Thus, the well-known Cuban revolutionary Julio Antonio Mella wrote with great warmth and sympathy about Ingenieros and the Argentine writer Manuel Ugarte, in emphasizing their great accomplishments in defending anti-imperialist ideas.¹⁰ Vasconcelos and many other prominent representatives of the Latin American intelligentsia appeared on the pages of the journal AMAUTA published by Mariategui. In the works by Mariategui a great deal of attention was given to analyzing the views of this group of writers, thinkers and social leaders, their self-sacrifice and sincerity in the search for the truth were emphasized in every possible way, attention was drawn to the closeness of the views of the Marxists and their positions on many important questions, although here, naturally, those points on which the communists did not agree with them were also pointed out.¹¹

Of great interest on the level of studying the problems of national uniqueness and the reciprocal influence of cultures is another important range of questions related to the rise and development of the Indianist movement. Although Indianism, as a sociopolitical, cultural and ideological movement arose at the end of the last century in countries with a high percentage of indigenous Indian population (primarily in Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador and Mexico), this concept underwent particular development in the 1920's, during the period of the rise of the liberation struggle by peoples in the colonial and dependent nations as a result of the impact of the ideas of Great October on them. In the ideologically heterogeneous Indianist movement the revolutionary-democratic current became established precisely under the influence of the revolution. "The Indian proletariat is waiting for its Lenin," wrote one of the most prominent ideologists of Peruvian Indianism, Luis Eduardo Valcarcel.¹² The profound sympathy for the Indian laboring masses and hate for the suppressors made the views of Valcarcel and other progressively inclined Indianists close, in the words of Mariategui, to the progressive currents of world revolutionary thought.

In supporting and sharing the ideas of the revolutionary democrats from the Indianist camp on the role of the Indian masses in the revolution, the Marxists at the same time were against their desire to isolate the Indians as a separate revolutionary force in Latin America, as this could lead to their isolating from the remaining detachments fighting for social progress. "By ideal," wrote Mariategui, "is not Peru of the colonial period, not Peru of the Inca times, but rather an integral Peru.... We will endeavor to create Peru in a new world." Naturally, the Latin American Marxists analyzed this problem proceeding not from the mystical "messianic" premises, but rather from a study of the fundamental problems, primarily the forms of ownership. They felt that the Indian problem was chiefly a problem of land.¹³ In carrying out profound agrarian changes, they saw the ways to satisfy the age-old aspirations of the suppressed Indian masses.

This very problem was closely tied to the attitude toward the communal Indian institutions, although undergoing a substantial transformation over their history, maintained a surprising vitality and ability to resist the latifundist oligarchy and foreign monopolies. A major contribution by Mariategui and the other Latin American communists to the creative elaboration of revolutionary theory was their posing of the question concerning the importance of using the Indian communal institutions in the process of profound social transformations with an orientation toward socialism. In the given instance, Soviet experience in solving the agrarian question by utilizing communal forms of land tenure which were transformed in a socialist spirit assumed exceptionally great significance.

There was much that was new and unexplored along this path and a great deal depended upon a correct interpretation of reality in the Latin American countries. This became particularly apparent in the course of a discussion on the nationality and particularly the Indian question at the First Conference of Latin American Communist Parties in Buenos Aires in 1929. At the conference the report by the representatives from the Peruvian communists, Saco and Mariategui, was the basis for discussing the racial and ethnic problems. The conference participants came out against any manifestations of racism whatsoever in the liberation and anti-imperialist movement. They criticized those who, in proclaiming themselves to be revolutionaries, remained the captive of racial prejudices about the "inferiority" of the Indians. Simultaneously, the Latin American communists warned about the dangers of "black" and "Indian" racism which distorted the class awareness of the suppressed masses and played into the hands of the local exploiting classes and imperialism.¹⁴

The criticism of the concept of a special mission to be played by the Indians in the rebirth of America was directed primarily against the views of the ideologists in the nationalistic movement of the American Peoples Revolutionary Alliance (APRA) founded by Haya del la Torre. In appealing to a "special" autochthonous civilization in Latin America, he drew clearly racist conclusions, in putting the liberation movement in this region of the world into opposition to the struggle of other peoples and denying any importance for Soviet experience for the Latin American countries.¹⁵

Great attention was also given to the question of employing Lenin's slogan about self-determination under the specific historical conditions of the Latin American countries. Naturally, this problem concerned primarily those states where the Indian masses represented compact national and ethnic formations. The conference evidenced various viewpoints on this problem. Some of its participants were in favor of creating independent Indian national republics in such states as Peru and Bolivia. However, a majority was in favor of granting extensive national autonomy to the Indians within a single state. The supporters of this approach proceeded from the necessity of solving the given problem, using Lenin's words on "definite historical limits," and considering the "specific features" of one or another country.¹⁶ In actuality, in Peru, Bolivia and a number of other states the fate of the Indians was closely intertwined with the fates of other ethnic groups in the population and only on the basis of their joint struggle would it be possible to satisfy the aspirations of the Indians. "Only in a joint struggle and in a close alliance of the Indians, both workers and peasants, with the mestizos and white proletariat against the

feudal and capitalist system," stated the report of the Peruvian representative, "is it possible to achieve a full and free development of all the racial potential and capabilities of the Indians (particularly their institutions with collectivist tendencies). It can create close ties between the Indians of different nations, in overcoming the frontiers which separate the long-existing racial formations."¹⁷ The conference drew particular attention to the need to utilize the experience of the RSFSR within which numerous peoples had followed the path of rapid cultural development and social progress.¹⁸

In the 1930's, interest in the experience of building a new society in the USSR grew even more in line with the worldwide economic crisis which shook the capitalist system to its very foundation and left a profound impression on the Latin American states.

The books and statements by the prominent Argentine philosopher Anibal Ponce became widely known in all the nations of the continent. One of the closest students of Jose Ingenieros, he moved over to the positions of scientific socialism, having added to the glorious traditions of his teacher and the other anti-imperialist writers from the period of the flourishing of the Latin American Union. Ponce wrote many vivid and stirring pages devoted to his trip to the Soviet Union and to his enormous contribution to the struggle for the renewal of society. He ended his book "Bourgeois Humanism and the Humanism of the Proletariat" with a chapter having the symbolic title "A Journey to the Man of the Future," having dedicated it to the Soviet people.¹⁹

The voice of the representatives of the Latin American revolutionary democracy began to be heard ever-louder in the ideological and political struggle. They linked their anti-imperialist positions ever-closer to the prospects of profound social changes, frequently turning for their justification to the experience of socialist construction in the USSR. One of the vivid representatives of revolutionary democracy was the prominent Cuban revolutionary Antonio Guiteras. In the autumn of 1933, having become the minister of internal affairs in the government of Grau San Martin who had come to power on a wave of revolutionary popular actions, Guiteras initiated a program of social and anti-imperialist changes. In working it out he considered the experience of socialist construction in the USSR and in particular the reorganization of agriculture along collectivist lines. As was stated in the declaration of principles for the revolutionary democratic organization "Young Cuba" set up with the active participation of Guiteras, the Cuban state should be founded on socialist principles.²⁰ A tragic death in May 1935 interrupted his activities. However, the heroic life and struggle of Antonio Guiteras became an important stage in the struggle of Cuba's revolutionary forces for true liberty and socialism.

The progressive forces of Mexico showed enormous interest in Soviet experience in fighting for profound social and anti-imperialist changes. The country's president from 1934 through 1940, Gen Lazaro Cardenas, saw the main aim of the revolutionary changes in creating an economic system which expressed the interests of the workers and in this the principles of individualism would give way to socialist principles.²¹ Of interest are the words by Cardenas on the importance of Soviet experience for Mexico which he voiced after repeatedly viewing his favorite film "A Trip into Life": "I feel that it is amazingly in

sympathy with the aspiration of the revolutionary Mexican people to radically alter their society. These changes must be carried out in eliminating the poverty and degradation of the human personality by creative labor, education and fraternity."²²

With great attention the Mexican progressive forces studied the experience of creating the multinational Soviet state. Certainly Mexico was inhabited by numerous suppressed Indian peoples and nationalities which were in various stages of economic development. The nation could not become a united state in the true sense of the word, said L. Cardenas, as long as there existed in it such ethnic groups which live under conditions of no rights and poverty.²³ An important feature in the struggle of the Mexican progressive forces in the area of the nationality question was a desire to solve this comprehensively. They were profoundly convinced that a cultural rebirth of the Indians was possible only in an inseparable link of this process with the carrying out of agrarian and other social changes.

The turning to Soviet experience helped the progressive forces of the nation to find the correct paths to resolving the nationality problem. In the course of carrying out social changes, great importance was given to utilizing the communal and collective traditions of the Indians. On this level, for the revolutionary Mexican Indianists, extremely valuable was the experience in land and water reform in the Soviet East in the course of which forms of collective labor and mutual aid among the workers were widely and beneficially employed.

Great attention was given to Soviet experience also in the area of introducing the principles of bilingual education. Luis Chavez Orozco became a convinced supporter for creatively utilizing Soviet experience in this area. He was a prominent Mexican scholar and leader of the Department for Indian Affairs. The co-workers from the department carried out extensive work to bring together the efforts of philologists, linguists and anthropologists in order to create an alphabet in various Indian languages and to thereby broaden the publishing of literature. However, the Mexican Indianists did not succeed in fully carrying out their tasks. After the end of Cardenas' term as president, a conservative trend was reestablished in the government and there was a swing away from the policy of social changes.

The movement of the progressive Latin American forces for anti-imperialist and democratic changes grew stronger under the conditions of the growing fascist threat on the eve of and during the period of World War II. The strategy and tactics of the broad popular antifascist fronts became an important factor in the fight against it. An important achievement by the Latin American communists in carrying out this policy was their desire to rebuff the attempts of the fascist reaction to turn back the history of the Latin American countries. The appeal of the communists and all true patriots to the democratic traditions of the past not only helped to unite the antifascist and anti-imperialist forces, but also aided in a more profound understanding of the past and in strengthening the national patriotic self-awareness of the masses.

The strong campaign of solidarity with the struggle of the Soviet people against the Nazi invaders was a manifestation of the increased antifascist attitudes on the continent. The Latin Americans not only reveled in the feat of

the Soviet people, but also endeavored to understand the nature and causes of their mass heroism and self-sacrifice. Thus, the lecture "Russia and Democracy" given in 1942 by the progressive Colombian political figure Jorge Elieser Gaitan had major social repercussions. For the Soviet state and the socialist ideology, he emphasized, there is a characteristic nonacceptance of fascism in its various manifestations, a desire for fraternity and social justice and a revulsion of war. Organically inherent to fascism are a zoological racism and an infatuation with war as a means for resolving all disputed problems. In explaining the sources of heroism in the Soviet people, Gaitan emphasized that these must be sought in the new type of democracy created in the Soviet Union. "I assert," he said confidently, "that the greatness of the Russian people rests primarily on the principles of authentic democracy."²⁴ Such statements explained the profoundly humane moral sense of the struggle which was being waged by the Soviet people against fascism and helped to overcome various prejudices and predispositions, including racial ones, caused by anticommunist propaganda.

The defeat of fascism was an enormous stimulus in the struggle for democracy throughout the world and accelerated the rise of the national liberation movement among peoples in the colonial and dependent nations. In Latin America, the movement for democracy and against the fascist threat became more and more closely intertwined with the struggle against imperialist domination and for economic independence. In endeavoring to prevent the development of these tendencies, the U.S. ruling circles, in relying on their Latin American allies from the camp of the oligarchy, began a broad offensive against the democratic forces, in advancing false slogans of defense against aggression by "international communism" which supposedly threatened "Western civilization." The pro-imperialist dictatorial regimes which were established in a number of nations threw open the doors to foreign capitalism which rapaciously plundered such irreplaceable raw material sources as oil, copper and iron ore. At the same time there was a massed offensive against national culture, the spiritual values of the Latin American peoples and the imposing on them of standardized models of "Western civilization."

However, the Cold War could not check social development or prevent an ever-deeper impact of the world-wide liberation and revolutionary process on the fates of the continent's nations. The Guatemalan and Bolivian revolutions which reached their peak at the height of the Cold War showed that the Latin American peoples were constantly searching for their own paths of development and were endeavoring to realize their own enormous potential. The characteristic traits of these revolutions were that they occurred in countries with a mixed ethnic composition and with a high percentage of an Indian population which was seeking social and cultural liberation. The progressive forces of these countries, in struggling for the active involvement of the Indian masses in the liberation process, turned to the experience of the Soviet Union.

Not long prior to the revolutionary actions of the masses of people in Bolivia, in 1952, a report on "Lenin, His Life and Struggle" was given by the well-known political figure and prominent philosopher, Jose Antonio Arce. He pointed out that the Bolivian people were evermore profoundly aware that "only Leninism would aid their liberation, in contributing to the creation in our land of a

fatherland where all of us, the Bolivians, feel ourselves to be the masters of our riches and will live under conditions of true democracy, experiencing pride in the fact that by constant education we have been convinced that only an economic system founded on principles of collectivism will help to fully disclose our Indian and mestizo traditions."²⁵ In being guided by these noble principles, the Bolivian progressive forces endeavored in the course of an upsurge in the revolutionary process to solve the nationality question on the basis of equality, friendship and fraternity between all the racial and ethnic groups in the population.

A desire not to be contained in narrow national limits, but rather to participate in fundamental changes in the world was also characteristic of the progressive Guatemalan forces. For the first time in the history of the nation, in the course of the revolution of 1944-1954, an attempt was made to approach a solution to the nationality question and to draw attention to the disenfranchised masses of the indigenous Indian population. One of the leaders of the Guatemalan labor party and subsequently its secretary general, Uberto Alvarado at that time wrote: "The cultural and creative heritage of Guatemala, in originating among the ancient Maya-Quiche peoples and embodying the national traits and creative spirit of our people, should now assume a revolutionary nature and develop along a progressive path which the new Guatemala is following."²⁶

Regardless of the fierce anticommunist propaganda campaign, imperialism did not succeed in imposing on the Latin American peoples conformist stereotypes of thinking in a spirit of belonging to the "Western world" which was in opposition "Soviet totalitarianism." It was symbolic that the anti-imperialist and humanistic traditions which had been developed and defended in the 1920's by the Latin American Union maintained their influence. These traditions continued to be defended by one of the active figures in the union, Manuel Ugarte, who not long before his death prepared a book entitled "The Reconstruction of Hispanic America." Again with a feeling of strong sympathy he wrote about the Soviet Union where, in his words, an advanced social organization had been created. "In order to build the future of Iberoamerica," wrote Ugarte, "we should naturally seek inspiration in the example of the effective organization of Soviet society which has marked a new age in the history of mankind."²⁷

Great interest in Soviet experience has also been shown by the prominent Venezuelan scholar and writer, the Catholic by conviction, Mario Briceño-Iragorry who has called anticommunism "politically criminal," since it defends the interests of the exploiting minority, it leads to the destruction of democracy and justifies an alliance with the suppressors of the people.²⁸ In reflecting on the influence on the world's destiny for the Great October socialist revolution which embodied a desire to renew society on the principles of socialist justice, he pointed out that even in the capitalist countries under its impact they had been forced to pay attention to social problems.²⁹ The Venezuelan thinker also turned to Soviet experience in its considerate attitude toward historical and cultural traditions. He said that the Soviet leaders endeavored to strengthen the traditions in order to "consolidate the enormous and diverse Soviet world and to put a firm basis under it." In particular, he referred with great sympathy to the book by Academician B. Grekov "Kul'tura Kiyevskoy Rusi" [The Culture of Kievan Russia], in quoting the author's words that an interest in the historic past of one's motherland and a desire to feel the link of the present

with the past are essential for an understanding of one's belonging to a single ethnic and political community.³⁰

The victory of the Cuban revolution enriched the relations of Latin America and the USSR with qualitatively new traits. The Cuban revolution showed a close relationship of intrinsic original and unique traits which were determined by national revolutionary traditions with common patterns of the revolutionary process. "It can be asserted," stated Fidel Castro, "that the concept on which revolutionary strategy was based and which led to victory in 1959 was precisely a unification and combination of traditions and the concrete experience of our country with the basic ideas of Marxism-Leninism."³¹ The new type of relations established between Cuba, the USSR and the other socialist countries showed that there is an alternative to Pan-Americanism which, in hiding behind the slogans of liberty, has brought only misfortune to the Latin American peoples.

After the collapse of the attempt by the U.S. ruling circles to dampen the pitch of the liberation movement by the "Alliance for Progress" Program, the exacerbation of the struggle over alternatives for social development led both to the coming to power of revolutionary democratic and anti-imperialist governments as well as to the establishing of rightist authoritarian and repressive regimes. Characteristic of the progressive governments, a vivid example of which would be the popular unity government in Chile, was a desire with the aid of profound social changes to carry out a radical process of social renewal, having aroused the masses of people to active political activities. The appeal to the experience of building a new society in the USSR reflected the constant search by progressive forces for ways to optimally carry out the tasks of national, social and cultural rebirth confronting them.

At the same time, the policy of the rightist authoritarian regimes, the leaders and ideologues of which stated their desire to defend national uniqueness when confronted with "international communism," in fact was characterized by a destruction of the underpinnings of a democratic national culture and by the elimination of progressive spiritual values. Their ideal was a society in which a technocratic elite would rule in following an ideology of Catholic integration or Falangist Hispanism. Although in the beginning of the 1970's, the reaction did succeed in making serious strikes against the liberation and democratic movement, it was unable to halt the profound and irreversible processes developing in Latin American society. The area of nationality relations is a vivid example of this.

The increased interest in the Indian question was explained by complex and diverse factors. The development of capitalism in breadth and depth evermore clearly disclosed the tendency which contributes, in the words of V. I. Lenin, to the establishing of all-round relations between nations and to the destruction of "national stagnation in the various God-forsaken corners, particularly in backward countries...." The crystallization of the given tendency, V. I. Lenin emphasized, helps to unite the efforts of the proletarians from various nationalities in their joint struggle, bringing closer the time of realizing their ideals by the path of socialist revolution.³² In this sense, the ever-broader involvement of the Indian peoples in the nationwide socioeconomic and

political processes as an objective historical nature and is progressive. The tendencies to "Westernize" the Indians, which is often forced by violent, bureaucratic authoritarian actions is opposed by the directly opposite course. This is manifested in the ever-greater strengthening of the process of national consolidation among the different Indian peoples and by the growth of their national self-awareness. This is expressed in the further development and enrichment of the Indian tongues, in the rise of original Indian literature and in the rebirth and creative development of national art.³³

Alejandro Lipschutz has repeatedly emphasized the profound historical progressiveness of increased national awareness among the Indians leading to the appearance of uniqueness of the various Indian ethnoses. In arguing against fatalistic assertions about the progressive process of the disappearance of Indian uniqueness, he has referred to the experience of the multinational Soviet state within which, in his words, the Union, autonomous republics, the national districts and autonomous oblasts develop harmoniously and in close unity. "There can be no doubt," wrote the Chilean scholar, "that the peoples of our America will also follow this path.... The Mapuche of Chile, the Quechua and Aymara of Peru and Bolivia, the various Indian groups in Mexico and a number of other nations will follow the same path as the peoples of the former Tsarist Empire. In our America there will also be districts and autonomous republics of Araucanos, Quechua, Aymara, Maya...."³⁴ At the same time, Lipschutz, like other progressive scientists, social and political figures, in no way defers the solving of the Indian nationality question until the victory of socialism. The struggle is already being waged and only in the course of it is it possible to create a broad front of democratic forces capable of opening the way to a solution of the Indian and other nationality problems within a single multinational state.

In this sense of extremely great importance were the attempts to resolve the Indian question in Peru when the Revolutionary Government of the Armed Forces headed by Gen Velasco Alvarado was in power there (1968-1975). In the course of profound socioeconomic changes in the nation, revolutionary Indianism was reborn and this was oriented at an anticapitalist alternative. The revolutionary theoretical heritage of Mariategui had an indisputed impact on the elaboration of Indian policy in the country.³⁵

The broad involvement of the Indian masses in the liberation movement is a characteristic trait in modern Latin America. In this manner, conditions are created to put an end to the isolation of the Indians from the struggle of the democratic forces. It is also important that the political activization of the Indians cuts the ground from underneath various types of "Indianist experiments" by leftist radical groups who have endeavored to bring the Indians to revolt, in appealing to a "racial mystique" and in opposing them to the "embourgeoized" city.³⁶ Characteristic in this regard are the processes occurring in Guatemala where the Indian masses together with other national and ethnic groups at present are taking an evermore active part in the joint struggle against the tyranny not on an ethnic, but on a class basis. Precisely this circumstance, as was emphasized in the joint statement by the Guatemalan leftist parties and associations in January 1982, is the crucial factor in the development of the revolutionary struggle by the suppressed masses.³⁷

One of the clear and convincing manifestations of the increased national self-awareness among the Indians is the greater activity of the Indian organizations and associations and the strengthening of the revolutionary-democratic and anticapitalist currents. This, aside from all else, leads to the overcoming of attitudes of "Indian racism" and strengthens the desire for a dialogue and cooperation with the leftist forces, including with the communists. Of interest in this regard is the position of the leader of the Coordinating Indian Center for South America, Nilo Caiuquo, an Argentine Mapuche Indian: "We can live in good concord within one nation and can work together fruitfully in one multinational state." Nilo Caiuquo is in favor of cooperation with the leftist forces and for an "open" and "honest" dialogue with the Marxists.³⁸ The communists have been conducting such a dialogue for a long time, in making their proposals to solve the nationality question, in creatively applying Leninist ideas to Latin American conditions and in constantly studying the theory and practice of the Soviet multinational state. Thus, the Peruvian communists consider it essential to have the compulsory study of the Quechua language in all schools, including institutions of higher learning. They are in favor of the right of the Indians to elect their own municipalities and authorities and have proposed that the Indians be given the right to have special representation in the nation's parliament.

The Ecuadorian communists have linked a final solution to the Indian question with the carrying out of a profound democratic agrarian reform and other radical social changes, in emphasizing that "this goal will also be aided by granting the Indians the right to elect their own authorities, by familiarizing the Indians with all the goods of modern culture and by granting them everything necessary for economic development and broadening their trade on the nation's domestic market."³⁹ The Bolivian communists proceed from the view that their country is populated by numerous Indian nationalities. They are in favor of complete national equality for all the ethnic groups of the population, they condemn the violent assimilation policy of the ruling classes and are in favor of instructing the Indian masses in their mother tongue.⁴⁰

The Chilean communists also give great attention to the nationality question. They consider it essential to give the Mapuche Indians, the Indians of Easter Island and the other ethnic minorities of the nation the right to participate in administering the regions and communities where they live. "The popular government" states the Program of the Chilean Communist Party, "should guarantee instruction in their mother tongues, in addition to Spanish. It should adopt measures to create a grammar and alphabet for the language of the Mapuche Indians. The entire nation is interested in encouraging the development and flourishing of the autochthonous cultures."⁴¹

The Indian question is just one of the component parts in the problem of Latin American cultural uniqueness. In recent years, this has again moved to the forefront in the disputes and discussions on the place of Latin America in the world and on the ways for it to achieve originality and uniqueness. Prominent scholars, social and political figures on the continent are turning evermore constantly to these problems. In the course of the disputes and debates, one can clearly hear the idea that Latin America has still not found its own path and is, so to speak, at the crossroads. Whatever the differences and shadings that might be observed in the assessments and proposals, there is inevitably

the common idea that only by strengthening the unity of the region's states and by creating effective mechanisms for their cooperation will it be possible to disclose this uniqueness and for the region to take its proper place in the world.

The desire for unity has been further strengthened as a result of the crisis in the South Atlantic where the position held by the United States again clearly showed that Washington is protecting exclusively its own interests which have nothing in common with the interests of the Latin American peoples. For this reason, appeals to revise relations with the United States have begun to be heard with great tenacity and on the highest level. Thus, during a visit to Nicaragua in 1982, the Venezuelan president Luis Herrera Campins emphasized that the United States, "having taken the side of the imperialist and colonial aggressor," has forced the Latin Americans to revise their relations with the United States within the inter-American system.⁴²

Hence also, the constant appeal to the ideological heritage of Bolivar and primarily to his plans for creating a free and equal community of Latin American states which would be united for a desire for social justice. Also not accidental is the interest in the ideals of Simon Rodrigues, the teacher and friend of the Liberator, and his dreams for creating a "new peace" founded on the principles of "social civilization" in the New World. In the words of the well-known Venezuelan historian Salcedo Bastardo, this "new peace" should be created on the "principles of liberty, justice, unity, equality and progress." Such an appeal to the ideological and cultural heritage of the past again confirms the striking tenacity of traditions and the heightened feeling of searching for a social idea. But the main thing is that the desire for national uniqueness bears the imprint of acute dissatisfaction and disquiet with the position of the Latin American nations in the world.

The Venezuelan philosopher and rector of the Simon Bolivar University, Ernesto Mayo Valenilla sees the basic threat for the region's states in the growing negative influence on them, in his words, of the "planetary processes" which carry a threat of "technocratic colonialism" related to the rapid growth of technology and expose the originality and uniqueness of the Latin American ethnos to attack. This process, he continues, leads to a situation where the Latin American is alienated from his own world and becomes an "apatrido" (that is, a person deprived of a homeland) since his way of life in no way differs from the other inhabitants of the planet. Such a situation could lead to the turning of Latin America into an enormous colony serving the interests of the technocratic colonialism and depriving it of an opportunity to create an authentic "new peace."

This problem, in turn, is part of the more general question of the ways for achieving continental unity and a recognition of their commonness by the Latin Americans. The former Venezuelan president Rafael Caldera sees the ways for solving this in creating a "nation of republics," using the well-known words of Bolivar. Such a unity can be achieved if a sort of psychological set is restored, that is, a "will to create a nation," in the terminology of Caldera, oriented at unification. He sees the triumph of this principle, aside from all else, in the attaining of the common goals and aspirations of the Soviet peoples where the interests of different ethnic groups speaking different languages have been fused together.⁴³

Of course, one could naturally raise many arguments over the priority of the psychological factor in achieving unity in the formation of a nation, since this process is based primarily on socioeconomic factors, that is, base phenomena. However, this of course does not negate the great influence of cultural, ethnic, sociopsychological and other factors. The very positing of the problem, from the viewpoint of Latin American specialists, is very important and pertinent. While previously the particular interest in the Soviet experience in Latin America lay with the problem of really providing the rights for all nations and nationalities in the aim of disclosing and developing their national uniqueness, at present this interest is shifting to another plane. How to achieve unity under the conditions of such ethnic diversity as in the Soviet Union--this is the question which particularly concerns the Latin Americans.

The answer to it must be sought primarily in the particular features and characteristic traits of the process which led in the Soviet Union to the creation of a new social and historical community of people, the Soviet people. This became possible as a result of the profound historical changes which brought about complete actual equality of all the peoples and nationalities. This, in turn, led to the flourishing of national cultures. A characteristic trait of the social-psychological and moral make-up of the Soviet people is the establishing and development of a single national culture which expresses their common aspirations and ideals. "It embodies all that is generally significant in the achievements and unique traditions of national cultures. Socialist in content, diverse in its national forms, internationalist in spirit and nature, Soviet culture has become a great force for the ideological and moral unification of the nations and nationalities of the Soviet Union."⁴⁴

The rise of such a sociohistorical community of people as the Soviet people convincingly shows that the world historical process of the merging of nations can assume different forms than under capitalism. In this sense, the impact on Latin America of "planetary processes," if by these we understand the destructive impact of capitalism, can be opposed by a different alternative which is capable of preventing the disappearance of Latin American uniqueness and ensuring conditions for the creation of a "new peace" in the New World. The struggle for this alternative rests on the very rich humanistic traditions of the Latin American peoples, the traditions of Bolivar, Simon, Rodrigues, Andres Bello, Jose Marti, Jose Enrique Rodo, Jose Ingenieros, Jose Carlos Mariategui, Jose Vasconcelos and many others. These traditions are being enriched and added to by today's struggle of the democratic forces.

The Latin American peoples are defending their right to national uniqueness for the sake of the triumph of the principles of peace, equality and fraternity in relations between peoples under conditions where they have dependable allies. The fruitful and mutually enriching contacts of the peoples of Latin America and the Soviet Union on the roads of the universe and the ecumene--let us repeat these inspiring words of J. C. Mariategui--are a vivid example of this.

FOOTNOTES

- ¹ "O 60-y godovshchine obrazovaniya SSSR. Postanovleniye TsK KPSS ot 19 fevralya 1982 goda" [On the 60th Anniversary of the Formation of the

- USSR. Decree of the CPSU Central Committee of 19 February 1982], Moscow, 1982, p 20.
- 2 J. C. Mariategui, "Obras completas," Lima, 1973, Vol 13, p 248.
 - 3 Ibid., Vol 2, p 64.
 - 4 A. Lipschutz, "Marx y Lenin en la America Latina y los problemas indigenistas," Havana, 1974, p 91.
 - 5 For more detail see: LATINSKAYA AMERIKA, No 2, 1982, p 86.
 - 6 See: Leopoldo Zea, "Filosofia de la Historia Americana," Mexico, 1978; Leopoldo Zea, "The Search for a Latin American Essence," VOPROSY FILOSOFII, No 6, 1982.
 - 7 J. Ingenieros, "Obras completas," Buenos Aires, 1969, Vol VI, p 544.
 - 8 J. Vasconcelos, "Obras completas," Mexico, 1958, Vol II, pp 903-1069.
 - 9 Ibid., Vol 1, pp 1229, 1254.
 - 10 J. A. Mella, "Documentos y articulos," Havana, 1975, p 372.
 - 11 See, for example: J. C. Mariategui, op. cit., Vol 12, pp 22-26.
 - 12 L. E. Valcarcel, "Tempestad en los Andes," Lima, 1927, p 55.
 - 13 J. C. Mariategui, op. cit., Vol 2, p 44; Vol 12, p 4.
 - 14 "El movimiento revolucionario latinoamericano," Buenos Aires, 1929, pp 268, 288.
 - 15 V. R. Haya de la Torre, "Obras completas," Lima, 1977, Vol II, pp 450-452.
 - 16 "An unconditional demand of Marxist theory in working out any social question is the placing of it in a certain historical context," wrote V. I. Lenin, "and then, if it is a question of one nation (for example, a national program for a given country), consideration of the specific features which distinguish this country from others within the same historical era," V. I. Lenin, PSS [Complete Collected Works], Vol 25, pp 263-264.
 - 17 J. C. Mariategui, op. cit., Vol 13, p 86.
 - 18 "El movimiento revolucionario...", p 304.
 - 19 A. Ponce, "Obras," Havana, 1975, pp 345-359.
 - 20 A. Guiteras, "Su pensamiento revolucionario," Havana, 1974, pp 124-125.
 - 21 "Ideario agrarista del General de division Lazaro Cardenas," Mexico, 1935, p 31.

- 22 Quoted in: P. Foix, "Cardenas, su actuacion, su pais," Mexico, 1956, p 152.
- 23 EL NACIONAL, Mexico, 9 May 1937.
- 24 G. E. Gaitan, "Obras selectas," Bogota, 1979, Part I, pp 284-285, 289.
- 25 J. A. Arce, "Ensayos Filosoficos. Polemica sobre marxismo y otros ensayos," La Paz, 1980, p 97.
- 26 U. Alvarado, "Razdum'ya" [Reflections], Moscow, 1979, p 162.
- 27 M. Ugarte, "La Reconstruccion de Hispanoamerica," Buenos Aires, 1961, p 113.
- 28 M. Briceño-Iragorry, "El hijo de Agar," Caracas, 1954, pp 145, 149.
- 29 M. Briceño-Iragorry, "Dialogos de la soledad," Merida, 1958, p 205.
- 30 M. Briceño-Iragorry, "Introduccion y defensa de nuestra historia," Caracas, 1952, p 120.
- 31 F. Castro, "Oktyabr'skaya revolutsiya i Kubinskaya revolyutsiya" [The October Revolution and the Cuban Revolution], Moscow, 1978, pp 177-178.
- 32 V. I. Lenin, PSS, Vol 24, pp 123, 127.
- 33 For more detail see: "Etnicheskiye protsessy v stranakh Latinskoy Ameriki" [Ethnic Processes in the Latin American Nations], Moscow, 1981.
- 34 A. Lipschutz, op. cit., pp 122-129, 93.
- 35 It is worth noting the statements by Velasco Alvarado that the words of Mariategui "We will Peruvianize Peru" are a slogan of all the Peruvian patriots. For more detail see: "Peru: sotsial'no-ekonomicheskoye i politicheskoye razvitiye" [Peru: Socioeconomic and Political Development], Moscow, 1982.
- 36 See: "T. V. Goncharova, "Indeanizm: ideologiya i politika" [Indianism: Ideology and Politics], Moscow, 1979.
- 37 KO-EIQU, Caracas, No 17, 1982, p 31.
- 38 "Latin American Perspectives," Riverside, California, No 2, 1982, pp 101-104.
- 39 "VIII s'yezd Kompartii Ekvadora" [The 8th Congress of the Ecuadorian Communist Party], Moscow, 1970, p 119.
- 40 "Partido Comunista de Bolivia. Tesis programatica aprobada en el III Congreso Nacional. Julio de 1971," UNIDAD, La Paz, No 409, 1971, pp 11-12.

- ⁴¹ "Programa del Partido Comunista de Chile," Santiago, 1969, p 46.
- ⁴² BARRICADA, Managua, 20 July 1982.
- ⁴³ "America Latina: conciencia y nacion," Caracas, 1977, pp 65, 22-23, 235.
- ⁴⁴ "O 60-y godovshchine....," p 14.

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RECENT GROWTH OF SOVIET-LATIN AMERICAN TRADE EXAMINED

Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 12, Dec 82 pp 54-65

[Article by N. V. Zinov'yev: "The Dynamics of Trade Ties"]

[Text] Sixty years ago, during the period of the formation of the Soviet Union, virtually no trade relations existed between our nation and the Latin American states. The only exception was trade with Argentina, the imports from which in 1921-1922 were 3.5 million rubles.

Since then, the situation has changed substantially. The last two decades have been the period of the greatest activity in Soviet-Latin American trade relations. This has been brought about by the social changes which the modern world is living through and primarily by the increased might of the world socialist system, by its stronger influence on international life and by the change in the world economic ties under conditions where foreign economic relations have assumed ever-greater significance against the background of the deepening of the international division of labor.

However, the realizing of the economic prerequisites for the development of foreign trade would have been impossible if it were not for the real fruits of the policy of detente and if economic relations between the USSR and the Latin American countries did not represent a qualitatively new type of relations where mutual advantage, equality and the lack of any discriminatory conditions are an indispensable principle.

This period has also become a new stage in history for Latin America as well. The revolution has been victorious in Cuba, and Nicaragua and Grenada have set out on the path of progressive socioeconomic changes. The liberation struggle of the patriots in El Salvador and Guatemala is broadening and the traditional system of Pan-Americanism with its orientation on the United States is collapsing. At the same time, a majority of the region's nations as before are "diverse forms of dependent nations, politically and formally independent, but in fact ensnared by financial and diplomatic dependence."¹

¹ V. I. Lenin, PSS [Complete Collected Works], Vol 27, p 383.

What have been the results of Soviet-Latin American trade as we approach the jubilee of the formation of the USSR?

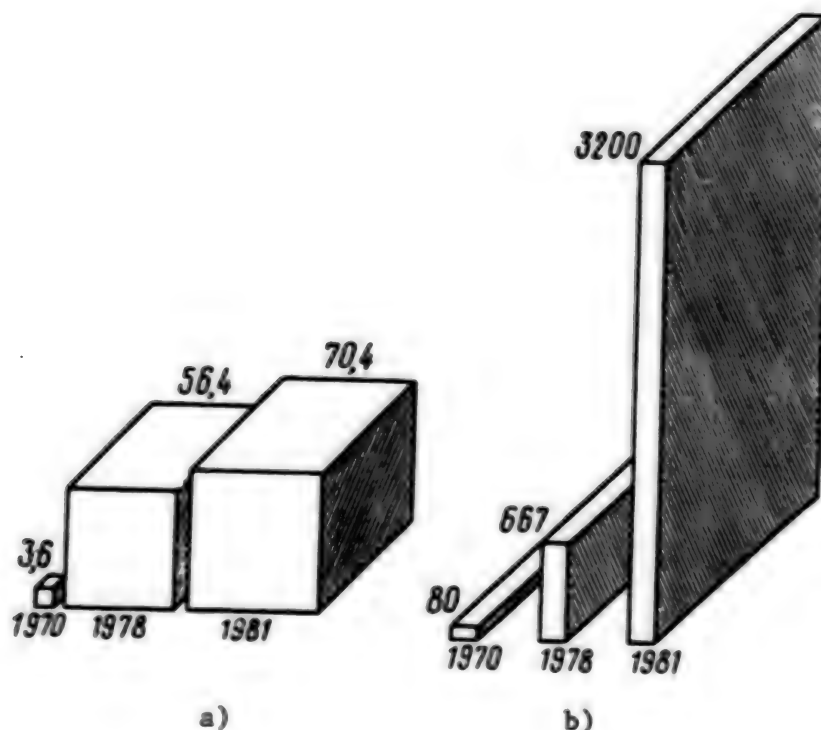
In 1981, the trade turnover between the USSR and the developing Latin American countries, not counting Cuba, was 3.2 billion rubles. If we add to this the Cuban data, then this indicator will equal almost 8 billion rubles. By the end of 1982, judging from the preliminary data, the volume of trade turnover will surpass the designated level. More than 25 states on the continent trade with our country.

Cuba holds a special place in the Soviet-Latin American trade relations. During the years since the Cuban Revolution, the volume of trade between the two countries has risen from 0.3 million rubles in 1959 to 4.8 billion rubles in 1981 (in comparable prices). The share of the USSR in Cuban trade turnover exceeds 70 percent. Among the foreign trade partners of the USSR, in 1981, Cuba was in ninth place. A number of agreements have been concluded between our countries and these provide a dependable legal basis for the further developing of bilateral trade and economic ties. One must particularly mention the long-term trade agreements and annual protocols on the mutual commodity deliveries and during the 10th Five-Year Plan responsible for up to 94 percent of the volume of Cuban-Soviet trade.

The USSR is the sole or basic supplier of a majority of commodities in the raw material and industrial range for Cuba. Over the years of the 10th Five-Year Plan, the USSR supplied: 1.5 billion rubles of oil, 51 million rubles of iron, 248 million rubles of rolled metal, 142 million rubles of tractors and a total of around 1.7 billion rubles in motor vehicles, bulldozers, excavators, machine tools and other machinery, industrial equipment and means of transport. In addition, 3.8 million tons of fertilizers, 2 million m³ of lumber, 1.8 million tons of flour and a large quantity of consumer goods were shipped. Over this same period, Cuba supplied the USSR with 13.6 million tons of raw sugar (more than 90 percent of the total volume of Cuban deliveries to the USSR), 434 million rubles worth of nickel and cobalt concentrate, 224,000 tons of citrus fruit, 3.4 million decaliters of rum and 7.7 million cigarettes.

Trade turnover between the USSR and the developing Latin American nations is basically increasing due to the growth of Soviet imports. In 1981, exports from the USSR to these nations equaled 115 million rubles, while imports from them were 3.1 billion rubles. To cover the deficit, the Soviet Union in the last 5 years alone has provided its Latin American partners with over 5 billion rubles in freely convertible currency.

The USSR exports chiefly industrial articles to Latin America, basically machinery and equipment, including: power, ore mining, oil drilling, forging-stamping and other, metal cutting machines, tractors, excavators, compressors, cars and trucks and so forth. These commodities make up 60-70 percent of all the Soviet exports to the continent's nations. Characteristically, the exports of machinery and equipment have been constantly increasing. In 1981, their volume was 70 million rubles. The basic purchasers of this group of commodities for free convertible currency are Argentina and Brazil.



a) The growth of machinery and equipment exports from the USSR to the Latin American nations (million rubles); b) The growth of commodity turnover between the USSR and the Latin American nations (million rubles)

In recent years, the USSR has supplied the Latin American countries (with the exception of Cuba) more than 10,000 cars and 1,200 trucks, more than 8,000 tractors and around 3,000 metal cutting machines. Turbines and generators have been sold for 5 power plants with a total capacity of 4.4 million kilowatts, equipment was fully delivered for a tin-ore enriching plant in Bolivia and in the capital of Colombia, Bogota, a trolley-bus network was created employing Soviet trolley buses.

In addition to machinery and equipment, the Soviet Union sells to Latin America fertilizers, chemical goods, medicines, canned goods, timepieces, cameras and so forth.

In 1981, the exports of household appliances were 9 million rubles. This basically went to Panama.

It should be pointed out that the broadening of Soviet exports to Latin America is becoming an evermore complex question. A number of the continent's states already produce or are organizing the production of individual types of machinery and equipment which are exported from the USSR. In the aim of protecting national industry, the Latin American countries have adopted measures which ban or restrict the imports of commodities the analogues of which they are capable of producing themselves. For example, in Brazil in the construction of major

projects imports can be no more than 20 percent of the required equipment. Similar restrictions have been introduced in Argentina and certain other countries.

These circumstances necessitate the search for new ways and forms of trading the Soviet machine building products on a mutually advantageous basis. One of the ways is industrial collaboration and subcontracting in the delivering of individual assemblies and parts. Something is already being done in this area. For example, Soviet tractors are being delivered to Mexico in a disassembled form and these in being assembled are equipped with additional individual parts manufactured at Mexican enterprises. Another example is the delivery of Soviet-produced heads for hosiery equipment produced in Mexico.

However, these are just the first steps. A great deal of effort must be taken for establishing this progressive form of trade. Industrial cooperation will make it possible to stabilize trade between the USSR and Latin America, to broaden the commodity structure, to reduce production outlays, to organize the transfer of modern technology and know-how and increase the effectiveness of economic collaboration as a whole.

Obviously, the time has come to study the export opportunities for machine building by such countries as Brazil, Argentina and Mexico which produce many types of advanced equipment.

In Latin America, the state organizations are the basic purchasers of Soviet goods, in particular equipment. The USSR basically supplies those goods the purchase of which in accord with the legislation of the Latin American nations, is a prerogative of the state, namely: power equipment, machinery, equipment for the mining industry and so forth. However, in recent years, as the range of Soviet exports has broadened, private firms have taken an ever-wider part in trade with our country. In the USSR, they purchase cars, tractors, bearings, timepieces and chemical products.

As for Soviet imports for Latin America, here private firms are the leading partners of the Soviet foreign trade organizations and a predominant share of exports is concentrated in their hands.

In the Latin American nations the USSR purchases cocoa beans, cocoa pulp, cocoa liquor, coffee, meat, wheat, corn, soy beans, vegetable oils, nonferrous metals and their concentrates, sisal and wool. For certain of these commodities, in particular, nonferrous metals, cereals, meat and fruits, the proportional amount of Latin America in Soviet imports is very significant.

In recent years, in the Latin American exports to the USSR, finished and semi-finished articles have also appeared such as footwear, clothing, processed and semiprocessed leather, medicines and so forth. In truth, their quantity is still small. This is explained chiefly by the inability of the Latin American exporters to compete with other nations supplying analogous products to the Soviet market. However, as the economy of the individual Latin American states and particularly Brazil develops, the competitiveness of the latter will grow.

There is a growing trend to conduct trade with Latin American countries on a long-term basis. Up to the present, long-term agreements have been concluded with the following: with Argentina for the purchasing of grain, soya and meat; with Brazil for reciprocal deliveries of commodities; with Nicaragua with the purchasing of coffee, sugar and cotton. There are also long-term contracts with Peru for the purchasing of nonferrous metals, with Mexico for the purchasing of sulfur and the sale of Soviet tractors and with Panama for the sale of Soviet motor vehicles.

With a majority of the Latin American nations, trade is conducted on the basis of intergovernmental trade agreements. These agreements define the basic principles and legal standards of trade. In particular, provision is made for the reciprocal granting of most favored nation conditions, for carrying out payments in freely convertible currency, for conducting trade on the basis of world prices, for periodically discussing the course of trade within joint commissions and so forth.

In being guided by the principles outlined in the trade agreements, the USSR has concluded with 12 Latin American nations agreements on the deliveries of Soviet machinery and equipment with deferred payment and the subsequent utilization of the receipts to purchase Latin American goods.

With certain Latin American countries, the USSR concluded agreements on trade-economic and scientific-technical cooperation and these are extended to various sectors of industry, agriculture, science and technology and provide for the elaboration of technical and economic feasibility studies, plans, technical specifications, the transfer of technology, the exchange of technical information, the training of technicians and specialists and so forth.

The development of trade and economic relations between the USSR and Latin American countries has led to the creation of a new organizational mechanism, the joint international commissions. The latter have been created between the USSR and, respectively, Cuba, Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Colombia, Peru, Mexico and Ecuador.

The tasks of the bilateral commissions include observing the development of business ties, discussing the questions of the state and prospects of reciprocal trade, its financing, the carrying out of major projects and the exchange of information on existing opportunities and prospects for cooperation.

The chief trade partners of the USSR among the developing nations of the continent (in addition to Cuba) are Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Mexico, Colombia, Nicaragua, Peru, Panama and Uruguay. These nine countries are responsible for over 90 percent of the volume of Soviet-Latin American trade.

Last year, Soviet-Argentine trade reached a record level. Argentina emerged in first place among the Soviet trade partners from among the non-socialist developing nations. The volume of reciprocal deliveries in 1981 reached 2.4 billion rubles and this was more than all Soviet trade with Latin America as a whole (with the exception of Cuba) in any previous year.

Among the Latin American partners of the USSR, Argentina is the main supplier of wheat, corn, wool, semifinished leather products, flax, tung and other vegetable oils and meat.

As was already mentioned, Argentina has signed long-term agreements with the USSR on the delivering of cereals and meat.² These agreements are being successfully carried out.

Exports from the USSR to Argentina, the volume of which in 1981 was 31 million rubles, consist basically of machinery and equipment. The Soviet Union has supplied Argentina with turbines and generators for the Salto Grande Hydropower Plant, the Costanera and Bahia Blanca Thermopower Plants as well as materials handling equipment, trucks and so forth.

In 1981, Soviet trade with Brazil reached 550 million rubles.

Soviet exports to this nation were 16 million rubles. Metal cutting machines, bearings and potassium salts were exported. Equipment deliveries for the Sobrandinho Hydropower Plant were completed.

Soviet imports from Brazil consist basically of soybeans, soy products, cocoa beans, cocoa bulk, coffee, castor and other oils, sisal and so forth.

In trade with Brazil, as with Argentina, the USSR has a chronic balance of trade deficit and this tells negatively on the prospects for expanding trade between the two countries and in particular the imports of Brazilian goods.

It should be pointed out that in contrast to many nations of the continent, Brazil has shown great activeness in its desire to increase the volume of sales of finished and semifinished products to the USSR.

In understanding the advisability of broadening two-way trade, both sides are examining a number of measures which should help to achieve this aim.

In 1981, trade turnover between the USSR and Colombia reached 15 million rubles, including exports of 3 million rubles and imports of 12 million rubles. The Soviet Union had a negative balance in its trade with Colombia and this was caused chiefly by the purchases of meat and bananas. Colombia receives motor vehicles, spare parts for them, electric meters, timepieces, medicines and other products. In July 1982, a contract was signed for the Soviet delivery of equipment and the providing of supervisory installation services for the Urra-1 and Urra-2 Hydropower Plants with a total value of 135 million dollars. The completion of this hydropower project is planned for the end of 1988.

Trade relations between the USSR and Panama were established in 1973. Trade turnover between the two nations was then around 0.5 million rubles. In 1981,

² An agreement for annual deliveries of a minimum of 4 million tons of wheat and corn as well as 500,000 tons of soybeans was signed in 1980 for the period of 1981-1985. In 1981, an agreement was signed for the same period on the annual deliveries of 60,000-100,000 tons of beef.

the volume of Soviet-Panamanian trade reached 22 million rubles. Trade as yet consists in the exporting of Soviet machine building products to the free trade zone of Panama, the port of Colon. Passenger cars, bearings, timepieces and watch mechanisms as well as cameras were delivered there. In the free zone, the designated goods, with the exception of the bearings, undergo technical inspection, repair and are then sold to other Latin American nations, including those which do not have diplomatic and trade relations with the USSR. In the aim of effective and uninterrupted supply of spare parts for Soviet motor vehicles, the Panamanian firm Motores Internacionales has organized a spare parts warehouse in the free trade zone.

Trade between the USSR and Mexico has developed very unevenly. In 1981, the trade turnover was 23 million rubles, while in 1980 it equaled 14 million rubles. Such fluctuations are characteristic both for imports and for exports. These are caused by the narrowness of the commodity range, by the insignificant number of stable commodity positions in trade and, of course, by the weak ties between the business circles of both countries. In addition, it is essential to consider the strong dependence of the Mexican private and mixed companies upon the U.S. monopolies which put direct pressure on its foreign trade.

Small-sized tractors are the basic commodity which the USSR sells to Mexico. These are delivered by the Mexican Sidera State Company in a disassembled form on the basis of an agreement running for 10 years. At present, around 5,000 Soviet tractors are already operating in Mexico. They have proven themselves in agricultural work. The nation has successfully tested more powerful Soviet machines. In addition to tractors, the USSR delivers Mexico turbodrills for the petroleum industry, textile equipment, metal cutting machines and purchases in this nation coffee, "lechugilla" fiber for the fine polishing of metal products and so forth.

Soviet trade with Peru has been going through certain difficulties. In 1981, its volume was 35 million rubles. Peruvian purchases of Soviet aviation equipment such as aircraft, helicopters, equipment and spare parts declined. (Peru is the only Latin American country, except for Cuba, that purchases aviation equipment in the USSR.) At the same time, the deliveries of passenger cars from the USSR increased and for the first time equipment was sold for the mining industry. Soviet exports to Peru consist essentially of three or four stable commodity items: aviation equipment, parachutes, metal cutting machines and sodium bichromate. Peru supplies the USSR with lead and nonferrous metal concentrates. Peru is the first nation in Latin America to conclude long-term (5-year) contracts with the USSR for the delivery of these products.

The enterprises and organizations of the state sector are the basic partners of the Soviet trade organizations in Peru. The range of influential private firms trading with the USSR is very limited. In truth, recently there have been certain changes in this area. A number of contracts have been concluded with Peruvian private firms for the delivery of tractors, motor vehicles and certain other commodities.

Bolivia plays a very important role in trade with the USSR. Trade relations between the two countries which began in 1970 have developed rather stably. Over the 10 years, commodity turnover has risen by more than 12-fold and in

1981 reached 21 million rubles. The constant growth of Soviet-Bolivian trade has been achieved largely due to the broad commodity range of Soviet exports to this nation which consist almost completely of equipment for the mining industry, ferrous metallurgy, trucks and passenger cars, metal cutting machines and so forth. In 1980, the Soviet organizations, with the participation of the Bolivian side, completed the construction of a plant for enriching tin ores in Potosi. This was equipped with Soviet equipment and operates according to Soviet technology. At present, another plant is being built in Oruro. In exchange the USSR receives tin and tin concentrate from Bolivia. Soviet-Bolivian trade which is carried out on a commercial basis indicates that it is possible to achieve mutually advantageous results, regardless of transport problems and other impediments related for a long time to the unstable domestic political situation in Bolivia.

Among the other Latin American countries which trade with the USSR, one must mention Ecuador, Uruguay, Venezuela, Jamaica and Costa Rica. The total trade turnover of the USSR with these nations in 1981 was around 70 million rubles. Only bananas are a permanent item of Soviet imports from Ecuador. Ecuador has long since become the basic supplier of this commodity for the USSR. The USSR delivers passenger cars and trucks to this nation as well as certain other goods. Ecuador is the leading purchaser of Soviet cars among the developing Latin American countries.

Trade with Uruguay started in the 1920's. In this nation, the USSR purchases wool through middlemen. Exports from the USSR to Uruguay have lagged greatly behind imports. These consist of machines, equipment, chemical and certain other products. Soviet trade with Venezuela has still not achieved sufficient development. The Soviet side has made a great effort to broaden trade with this country. Representatives from the foreign trade organizations have been sent to Venezuela and an exhibit of Soviet export products was held in Caracas. However, these measures as yet have not produced the expected results.

Probably the most interesting aspect in trade relations between the USSR and Venezuela was the concluding of an agreement in 1978 for the delivery of certain amounts of Venezuelan oil to Cuba to offset Soviet obligations and the delivery of an equal amount of Soviet oil to Europe to counter Venezuelan obligations. Both sides benefit from the deal in saving in transport costs. This trade operation is a sort of new form of trade relations between the USSR and its partners in Latin America.

Much remains to be done for developing trade between the USSR and Costa Rica with the start of this going back to the 1970's. The volume of two-way trade is small and the commodity range remains very limited. In 1981, trade turnover between the two nations was 1.5 million rubles in comparison with 3.9 million rubles in the previous year. This can be explained by the reduced deliveries of Costa Rican coffee to the USSR as this is the only commodity which is constantly purchased by the USSR in this country. In individual years, the USSR has imported rice from Costa Rica. An expansion of coffee purchases is impeded chiefly by the limited volume of Soviet goods purchased by the Costa Rican side. Soviet exports to Costa Rica consists of tractors, motor vehicles, metal cutting machines, optical instruments and certain other goods. In trade with Costa Rica, the USSR has had a constant negative balance of trade.

Trade relations of the USSR with another small Latin American country, Jamaica, commenced in 1977, when trade agreements were signed between the two countries as well as an agreement on the delivering of Soviet machinery and equipment and an agreement on the establishing of trade agencies. The USSR purchases in Jamaica aluminum oxide and allspice which is the second most import export item. For Jamaica the sale of this product is of great significance; in certain years, the USSR purchases more than half of the entire allspice crop. The exports of Soviet goods to Jamaica started only in 1979 and as yet consist only of passenger cars.

We should particularly take up the trade relations of the USSR with two Latin American countries which have started out on a progressive path of socio-economic development. These are Nicaragua and Grenada. In contrast to many other states on the continent, they still do not have strong business ties with the Soviet foreign trade organizations, but the necessary conditions have already been created for the development of reciprocal trade. The USSR has signed with both countries a series of important agreements, in particular trade agreements, agreements on the deliveries of Soviet machinery and equipment on easy terms and so forth. With Nicaragua the Soviet Union has also signed a 5-year agreement on the purchasing of coffee, cotton and sugar and this provides a stable market for these commodities.

In Grenada, the Soviet foreign trade organizations purchase nutmeg. Previously these purchases were made through middlemen. With the establishing of diplomatic relations between the two countries, the solving of the problem of setting up direct commercial ties was substantially eased.

Thus, in the 1970's, the USSR became one of the important trade partners of the Latin American countries.

However, as was already pointed out, the development of trade between the USSR and the states of the continent has encountered well-known difficulties. There are the necessary prerequisites for surmounting these difficulties. The Soviet Union, in being an industrially highly-developed state, has the opportunity to deliver to the states of the continent a broad range of various machines, equipment and other goods which are essential for economic development.

On their side, the Latin American countries possess products which the USSR either does not produce at all because of climatic conditions (coffee, cocoa beans, bananas, certain vegetable oils and so forth), or does not produce enough to satisfy demand (meat, grain, wool, leather, tin and so forth).

Our country has steadily carried out a policy of developing mutually advantageous equal trade ties with the continent's states. This policy was clearly expressed by the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, the Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev, in the Accountability Report to the 26th CPSU Congress: "There has been a significant rise in the role on the world scene of the Latin American states including such ones as Mexico, Brazil, Argentina, Venezuela and Peru. With satisfaction we note the broadening of mutually useful ties between the USSR and the Latin American countries and are ready to develop these ties further."³

³ "Materialy XXVI s"yezda KPSS" [Materials of the 26th CPSU Congress], Moscow, 1981, p 25.

LATIN AMERICAN STUDIES IN SOVIET REPUBLICS VIEWED

Moscow LATINSKAYA AMERIKA in Russian No 12, Dec 82 pp 112-118

[Article by A. I. Sizonenko: "Latin American Studies in the Soviet Republics"]

[Text] The Decree of the CPSU Central Committee "On the 60th Anniversary of the Formation of the USSR" pointed out that the Soviet people "are greeting their great holiday with new successes in all areas of social life and with constant creative labor, in carrying out the plans of communist construction elaborated by the 26th CPSU Congress."¹ Soviet scientists are also making their worthy contribution to the overall intense creative labor, and this includes the detachment of researchers studying the diverse processes of history, the revolutionary movement, the economy, the sociopolitical life and culture of Latin America. The works of Soviet Latin Americanists are widely known both in our nation as well as abroad.

The Soviet school of Latin American studies was created in the 1920's. As early as 1922, certain publications appeared devoted to Latin America.² Prior to the war, many works on the given subject appeared in various Soviet publications. Their authors were not only scholars from such major scientific centers of the RSFSR as Moscow and Leningrad, but also from other cities and Union republics.³ Thus, from 1930 through 1940, seven works were published in just the Ukraine (in Kharkov, Kirovograd and Dnepropetrovsk). These were devoted to revolutionary figures (Luis Carlos Prestes and Julio Antonio Mella), to individual countries (Brazil and Cuba) and to general reviews of Central and South America.⁴

But, of course, the successes of Soviet Latin American studies in the 1920's and 1930's are incomparable with those of the postwar period. While in the prewar period several scores of publications appeared, over the period from 1946 through 1980 in the USSR 12,312 scientific works were published in Russian alone, including books, articles, chapters, reviews, book reviews, translations and so forth devoted to the broadest range of problems.⁵ A predominant majority of these publications belongs to the pen of Soviet researchers who live in the most diverse corners of our nation.

Scholars from the Union republics, primarily the RSFSR, Ukraine, Belorussia and Moldavia, have made not only a quantitative, but also a qualitative contribution to Soviet Latin American studies. Frequently, they follow their own paths, in elaborating original concepts and discovering new areas of research.

In the RSFSR, Latin America is studied in a number of cities aside from Moscow and Leningrad: in Ivanovo, Groznyy, Omsk and elsewhere. As a rule, this is done on the basis of the local universities and institutes.

A large group of RSFSR Latin Americanists is at work in Ivanovo. The senior of them by rights is Candidate of Historical Sciences G. I. Ivanov who began studying Mexico in the second half of the 1940's during graduate studies in Leningrad. Since 1952, when his first publication appeared,⁶ G. I. Ivanov has been concerned with the problems of 19th Century Mexican history and the questions of the socioeconomic development of this country in the colonial period and the struggle of its people against American aggressors. He has devoted a number of his works to the popular revolts in the 16th-18th Centuries in Mexico. Candidate of Economic Sciences V. G. Ivanov has been concerned with the questions of Cuban economic history, particularly since the victory of the revolution. Candidate of Historical Sciences A. I. Kubyshev has been studying the problems of the Guatemalan bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1944-1954. Candidate of Historical Sciences A. V. Gus'kov has been the author of the dissertation "The Workers Movement in Chile in the First Stage of the General Crisis of Capitalism" and a series of articles on the same subject. All these Latin American specialists teach at the Ivanovo State University (IGU), and their works are published both in the scholarly notes and collections of the IGU as well as in the central journals. At present, two representatives of Ivanovo are studying on specific post-graduate courses at the Latin American Institute (ILA) of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

N. V. Potokova works in the capital of the Checheno-Ingush SSR, Groznyy. In 1961, her monograph "Aggressiya SShA protiv Meksiki. 1846-1848 gg." [U.S. Aggression Against Mexico. 1846-1848] was published in Moscow. After this, a series of her works appeared which disclosed the aggressive essence of the American bourgeoisie from the example of the U.S. seizure of Mexican territories in the 19th Century.

Yu. P. Simakov (the Omsk Physical Culture Institute) has been working fruitfully in the area of studying physical culture and sports in Latin America. The publishing of his book "Sportivnaya yunost' ostrova Svobody" [Sports Youth from the Island of Liberty] in Moscow in 1964 marked the appearance of still another area of Soviet Latin American studies. Since then Yu. P. Simakov has written several articles and pamphlets devoted, in particular, to the last Olympic Games and the sports ties between the USSR and Cuba.

On the pages of the journal *LATINSKAYA AMERIKA*, the reader has repeatedly encountered interesting articles by the young researcher from the city of Tula, V. P. Tot'skiy (since 1981 he has been working in Odessa in the Ukraine) and devoted to the problems of dependent capitalism and the ruling regimes in Latin American countries.

Articles on Latin American problems are also printed in other cities of the RSFSR.⁷ Representatives from Kuybyshev, Ivanovo and Stavropol are studying on specific post-graduate programs at the ILA.

The increasing interest in a scientific study of Latin American problems in the Ukraine can be seen from the sharp increase in the number of works published

(both in Ukrainian and in Russian) and devoted to research of the subject. Thus, while in the 1950's, just 8 of these appeared, in the 1960's the number reached 36, and from 1970 through 1977 alone, some 32.⁸

Among those who initiated active scientific research on Latin American problems in the Ukraine were N. I. Lozyuk and N. N. Klimko who published their first works, respectively, in 1959 and 1963.⁹ In 1963, N. I. Lozyuk and N. N. Klimko defended their candidate dissertations on: "The Strengthening of Economic Contradictions Between the Latin American Nations and the United States at the Present Stage of the General Crisis of Capitalism" and "Revolutionary Transformations in the Economy of the Cuban Republic (January 1959--October 1963)." Subsequently, N. I. Lozyuk focused his attention on a broad range of questions related to the Cuban Revolution, to the relations of the Latin American countries with the United States, to their struggle for economic independence, to changes in the economy of the Latin American states since World War II and so forth. N. N. Klimko has worked on the questions of the establishing and development of the economy of revolutionary Cuba.¹⁰

In the capital of the Ukrainian republic, a reference on this region was published in line with the growing interest shown in the Ukraine in the "smoldering continent."¹¹ At the end of the 1960's and the beginning of the 1970's, a whole group of Latin Americanists appeared in Kiev, including: A. I. Litvinenko, I. I. Ostroverkhii, A. D. Yaroshenko and M. V. Grishchenko. In the first half of the 1970's, new researchers were added to this group (A. A. Strelko, Yu. V. Pokal'chuk, I. S. Pokrovskaya, V. P. Kirichenko, V. V. Pashchuk, M. I. Zherdinovskaya and B. M. Zabarko). Their development as specialists was largely aided by Kiev State University imeni T. G. Shevchenko (KGU) and the History Institute of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences as well as by their close ties with the ILA and constant participation in its scientific conferences and collective publications. The founding and activities of the ILA, as was pointed out by A. A. Strelko, "has helped to strengthen the coordination of scientific achievements in the nation and to improve the creative ties of the Ukrainian Latin Americanists with the other capitals of our motherland."¹² The subjects of the candidate dissertations defended by the new generation of researchers shows the broad range of their interests¹³ and on the basis of these they have prepared a series of publications, including also books.¹⁴ The ranks of Kievan Latin Americanists continue to fill out. A. O. Gorin, an instructor at KGU, is one such "new man."¹⁵

The Ukrainian capital provides not only scientific research activities involving Latin America as a subject of study, but also practical aid to the nations of the distant continent in preparing for them national cadres of specialists and graduate students, primarily Cuban.

The works of Ukrainian researchers can be encountered in various Soviet publications, but one must point out the active role in this matter of the journal *KOMMUNIST UKRAINY* which has had a long and constant tradition of publishing articles on Latin American subjects. The first step has been taken along the path of creating joint works as Kiev University along with Santa Clara University (in Cuba) is preparing a collective monograph devoted to the 25th anniversary of the Cuban Revolution. The work will be published simultaneously in Kiev and Havana.

At present, Kiev, undoubtedly, holds the leading place in the study of Latin America in the Ukraine,¹⁶ however this process is going on also in other cities of the republic.

Since the end of the 1960's, L. V. Skripnikova (Dn propetrovsk) has been concerned with the problems of the British West Indies. The result of her research was the monograph "Angliyskiy kolonializm v Vest-Indii. Kritika burzhuaiznykh kontseptsii istoricheskogo razvitiya molodykh gosudarstv Karibskogo regiona" [English Colonialism in the West Indies. A Critique of British Concepts of Historical Development in the Young States of the Caribbean Region] (Kiev, 1981) and this was positively reviewed in the scientific press.¹⁷ Yu. G. Belovolov teaches at the university in Donetsk and in 1971 he defended his dissertation on "The Cuban Communist Party in the Struggle for the Unity of the Working Class and Working Masses (1930-1939)."

At Kharkov University in 1980, V. F. Pakhomov defended a candidate dissertation on "The Socioeconomic Policy of the Popular Front Government in Chile (1938-1941)." Yu. G. Belovolov and V. F. Pakhomov are continuing their scientific research, in successfully combining it with teaching. In his works V. F. Shevchuk (Lvov) has also touched upon the problems of dependent capitalism, including in Latin America.

In Belorussia, since the 1960's, O. S. Ternovoy and N. A. Mikhaylidis have been actively studying the philosophy of Cuba and ideological currents in Latin America. The results of their research are two monographs.¹⁸ From his book O. S. Ternovoy defended a doctoral dissertation having thereby become the first doctor in Latin American studies in Belorussia.

The attention of Belorussian researchers, like their Ukrainian colleagues, has been attracted to the problems of immigration to the Latin American countries. A. V. Rudenko has devoted a number of his articles to this subject and in 1975 at the Minsk Pedagogical Institute he defended a candidates dissertation on "The Sociopolitical and Cultural Activities of the Progressive Belorussian Immigrants in Argentina (1925-1955)." Minsk is also training Cuban graduate students.¹⁹

Moldavia holds a noticeable place among the Union republics in the study of Latin America. In the republic the leading role in the development of Latin American studies has been played by the historian N. V. Korolev (Kishinev University). He is the author of three monographs, the first of which was published in 1962.²⁰ N. V. Korolev was one of the first among Soviet researchers to attempt to create a general work on the place and role of the Latin American countries in international relations during the period from the end of the 19th Century to the beginning of the 1960's. His book on the history of Russian relations with the South American countries is devoted to a question which has been examined neither in the USSR nor abroad.

Contemporary problems also attract Moldavian researchers. A notable event on this level was the monograph of E. A. Rusnak on "Stanovleniye i razvitiye sotsialisticheskogo sorevnovaniya na Kube (1959-1975 gg.)" [The Establishing and Development of the Socialist Competition in Cuba (1959-1975)] and published in Kishinev in 1981. As was pointed out in the review of this book, it is

"devoted to an extremely important, but little studied aspect of socialist construction on the Island of Liberty".... The monograph by E. A. Rusnak is the first attempt in this area."²¹ The young Moldavian researcher O. P. Martynov has devoted his dissertation defended at the ILA in 1981 to the struggle of the Chilean Communist Party to involve the youth in the revolutionary process in 1966-1973.

In Soviet Latin American studies the name of the researcher from Kazakhstan, K. S. Shustov, has long been known. Like O. S. Ternovoy in Belorussia, he was the first doctor of Latin American studies in his republic (in 1967 he defended a doctoral dissertation on the subject "Cuba and the Expansionist Policy of the United States in the Imperialist Age (1895-1959).") Also belonging to the pen of K. S. Shustov are two monographs²² which made their contribution to the study of Cuban history in the USSR.

In recent years, other Soviet Union republics such as Armenia, Azerbaijan and Uzbekistan have begun to show a marked interest in studying Latin American problems. A reflection of this interest was the candidate dissertations defended by the representatives of these republics R. Kh. Matevosyan and A. V. Chatinyan (Armenia), S. Refatov (Azerbaijan) and M. V. Lafasov (Uzbekistan).²³ Of these one would particularly like to mention the dissertation of M. V. Lafasov which examines relations with Cuba not for the USSR as a whole, but for one of the Union republics. We feel this work could open up still another promising area in Latin American studies. The further elaboration of this would clearly demonstrate the increased scientific-technical and economic potential of the Soviet republics on an international scale and would disclose the specific features of their involvement in Soviet-Latin American relations and the particular features of their development.

In our view, the major universities, for example, Saratov, Odessa and the Belorussian, would make a major contribution to the study of Latin America. Unfortunately, as yet one cannot see a sufficient return in this area from the chair of the history of Asian, African and Latin American countries at Gorkiy University.

Quite recently a young specialist, V. A. Samoylov, appeared in the Tatar ASSR, defending his dissertation for the degree of Candidate of Philosophical Sciences at Kazan University. The subject of his interesting and timely work is "Theoretical Problems in the Anti-Imperialist Guerrilla War in Latin America at the Present Stage (End of the 1950's to the Beginning of the 1970's)."

In concluding this brief review, it is essential to emphasize that at present the question has arisen of strengthening the coordination of research on Latin American problems on a national scale by the ILA of the USSR Academy of Sciences. In this regard, possibly, we should refer to the experience of holding the national conference "Leninism and Latin America" in 1971.

FOOTNOTES

- 1 PRAVDA, 21 February 1982.
- 2 "The International Workers Movement (A Review Including Mexico)," KRASNYY INTERNATSIONAL PROFSOYUZOV [The Red Trade Union International] (KIP), No 1, 1922; "The Unifying Congress of Argentine Proletariat," KIP, No 5, 1922; Canellas, "The Workers Movement in Brazil," KIP, No 10, 1922; "Yuzhnaya Amerika (tetrad'-atlas s voprosami i uprazhneniyami po geografii)" [South America (A Notebook Atlas with Questions and Exercises in Geography)], Petrograd, 1922.
- 3 The question of the results of studying Latin America in Moscow and Leningrad has already been dealt with in the Soviet literature. See: "Latinskaya Amerika v sovetskikh issledovaniyakh. Tsentry latinoamerikanistiki v SSSR" [Latin America in Soviet Research. Centers of Latin American Studies in the USSR], Moscow, 1976; "Sovetskaya latinoamerikanistika posle pobedy Kubinskoy revolyutsii" [Soviet Latin American Studies Since the Victory of the Cuban Revolution], Moscow, 1981.
- 4 See: A. A. Strilko, "Latin American Studies in the Ukraine Over the Years of Soviet Power: Stages of Establishment and Development," ISTORICHNI DOSLIDZHENYA. ISTORIYA ZARUBIZHNIKH KRAYIN, Kiev, No 4, 1978, p 98.
- 5 Calculated from: "Latinskaya Amerika v sovetskoy pechati" [Latin America in the Soviet Press] (Annual), Moscow, 1965-1981.
- 6 G. I. Ivanov, "The Agrarian Question in Mexico During the 'Reform' Period of the 1850's-1860's," "Uchenyye zapiski Ivanovskogo pedinstitutu" [Scientific Notes of the Ivanovo Pedagogical Institute], Vol III, Ivanovo, 1952. For the detailed lists of works by the mentioned researchers, see: "Latinskaya Amerika v sovetskoy pechati."
- 7 See, for example, V. I. Varyushchenko, "The Question of Relationships with Argentina in U.S. Latin American Policy (October 1944-March 1945)," "Problemy istorii vneshney politiki imperialisticheskikh gosudarstv" [Problems in the Foreign Policy History of Imperialist States], Tomsk, 1979; V. V. Matchenko, "Sources and Historical Research on the Revolutionary Process in Latin America Since World War II," "Voprosy istoriografii obshchestvennykh dvizheniy zarubezhnykh stran v noveysheye vremya" [Questions of the Historiography of Social Movements in Foreign Nations in Recent Times], Rostov-na-Donu, 1980.
- 8 Calculated from: A. A. Strilko, op. cit., pp 98-102.
- 9 M. I. Lozyuk, "Borot'ba krain Latins'koi Ameriki za ekonomichnu nezalezhnist'" [The Struggle of the Latin American Nations for Economic Independence] (in Ukrainian), Kiev, 1959; N. N. Klimko, "Cuba Constructs, Cuba Surmounts," KOMMUNIST UKRAYINI, No 5, 1963.

- 10 In 1964, her work "Sotsialistichni peretvoreniya na Kubi" [Socialist Changes in Cuba] was published as a separate edition.
- 11 "Latinskaya Amerika (Politiko-ekonomicheskiy spravochnik)" [Latin America (A Political-Economic Reference)], Kiev, 1963.
- 12 A. A. Strilko, op. cit., p 90.
- 13 A. A. Strilko, "Ukrainskaya trudovaya emigratsiya v stranakh Latinskoy Ameriki" [Ukrainian Labor Emigration in the Nations of Latin America], Kiev, 1973; I. S. Pokrovskaya, "Sotrudnichestvo SSSR i Respubliki Kuba v oblasti vysshego obrazovaniya, nauki i kul'tury (1960-1972 gg.)" [Cooperation of the USSR and the Republic of Cuba in the Area of Higher Education, Science and Culture (1960-1972)], Kiev, 1974; V. V. Pashchuk, "Vneshnyaya politika Respubliki Kuba i mezhamierikanskiye otnosheniya (1959-1964 gg.)" [The Foreign Policy of the Republic of Cuba and Inter-American Relations (1959-1964)], Kiev, 1974; N. I. Obushnyy, "Problemy formirovaniya politicheskoy armii revolyutsii v stranakh Latinskoy Ameriki na sovremennom etape" [Problems of Organizing the Political Army of the Revolution in the Latin American Countries at the Present Stage], Kiev, 1975; V. P. Kirichenko, "Imperialisticheskaya ekspansiya SSHA v Latinskoy Amerike vo vremya vtoroy mirovoy voyny (1939-1945 gg.)" [Imperialist Expansion of the United States in Latin America During World War II (1939-1945)], Kiev, 1975; M. I. Zherdinovskaya, "Evolyutsiya obraza gaucha v Urugvayskoy proze i dramaturgii kontsa XIX--pervoy trety XX v." [The Evolution of the Gaucho Image in Uruguayan Prose and Drama at the End of the 19th and the First Third of the 20th Centuries], Kiev, 1975; Yu. V. Pokal'chuk, "Suchasna latino-amerikanskaya proza" [Contemporary Latin American Prose] [in Ukrainian], Kiev, 1978.
- 14 A. A. Strilko, "Slavyanskoye naseleniye v stranakh Latinskoy Ameriki" [The Slav Population in Latin American Countries], Kiev, 1980; V. V. Pashchuk, "Forpost sotsializma v Zapadnom polusharii" [The Outpost of Socialism in the Western Hemisphere], Kiev, 1979.
- 15 The journal LATINSKAYA AMERIKA (No 3, 1981) published his informative article on "Argentina in the Military-Strategic Plans of the United States."
- 16 Here a marked role has been played by the Faculty of International Relations at KGU (Dean, Doctor of Historical Sciences G. N. Tsvetkov) and the Latin American seminar of students active under it (leader, Candidate of Historical Sciences V. V. Pashchuk).
- 17 See: LATINSKAYA AMERIKA, No 9, 1981, pp 138-140.
- 18 O. S. Ternovoy, "Filosofiya Kuby (1790-1878)" [The Philosophy of Cuba (1790-1878)], Minsk, 1972; N. A. Mikhaylidis, "Ideologiya i politika anti-kommunizma v Latinskoy Amerike" [The Ideology and Policy of Anticommunism in Latin America], Minsk, 1975.
- 19 Thus, in 1981, at the Institute of Philosophy and Law, the Cuban Landelino Sierra Pacheco defended a dissertation on "The Problems of Historical Materialism in the Works of J. A. Mella" (scientific leader, O. S. Ternovoy).

- 20 N. V. Korolev, "Strany Latinskoy Ameriki v mezhdunarodnykh otnosheniyakh (1898-1962 gg.)" [The Nations of Latin America in International Relations (1898-1962)], Kishinev, 1962; by the same author, "Imperialisticheskaya ekspansiya v stranakh Latinskoy Ameriki posle vtoroy mirovoy voyny" [Imperialist Expansion in the Latin American Nations After World War II], Kishinev, 1969; by the same author, "Strany Yuzhnoy Ameriki i Rossiya (1890-1917)" [The South American Nations and Russia (1890-1917)], Kishinev, 1972.
- 21 LATINSKAYA AMERIKA, No 11, 1981, pp 135, 136.
- 22 K. S. Shustov, "Zhemchuzhina Antill i yanki (Kuba i imperializm SShA)" [The Pearl of the Antilles and the Yankees (Cuba and U.S. Imperialism)], Alma-Ata, 1967; by the same author, "Osvoboditel'naya voyna na Kube (1895-1898) i politika SShA" [The Liberation War in Cuba (1895-1898) and U.S. Policy], Moscow, 1970.
- 23 R. Kh. Matevosyan, "Gospodstvo monopolii SShA v sakharной promyshlennosti Kuby do revolyutsii" [The Dominance of U.S. Monopolies in the Cuban Sugar Industry Prior to the Revolution], Moscow, 1973; A. V. Chatinyan, "Istoricheskaya evolyutsiya i sovremennyye tendentsii razvitiya otnosheniy Respubliki Kuba so stranami Latinskoy Ameriki (1959-1979)" [Historical Evolution and Current Trends in the Development of Cuban Relations with the Latin American Countries (1959-1979)], Moscow, 1980; S. Refatov, "Sozdaniye ekonomicheskikh osnov sotsializma v Respublike Kuba" [The Creation of the Economic Bases of Socialism in the Republic of Cuba], Baku, 1975; M. F. Lafasov, "Uchastiye Uzbekskoy SSR v tekhniko-ekonomicheskoy, nauchnoy i kul'turnoy sotrudnichestve SSSR s Respublikoy Kuba (1959-1975 gg.)" [The Participation of the Uzbek SSR in the Technical-Economic, Scientific and Cultural Cooperation of the USSR with the Republic of Cuba (1959-1975)], Tashkent, 1978.

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ROLE OF DEVELOPING STATES WITHIN 'WORLD CAPITALIST' ECONOMY CONSIDERED

Moscow AZIYA I AFRIKA SEGODNYA in Russian No 6, Jun 82 pp 24-28

[Article by A. Dinkevich: "World Capitalist Economy: Centers and Periphery"]

[Text] In spite of sizable successes in economic development, the liberated nations continue to remain a backward, peripheral component in the world capitalist economic system. Although during 1950-1980 their gross domestic product (GDP) increased 4.5 fold and higher economic growth rates led to an increase in these states' share of total GDP in the nonsocialist nations (from 14.4 percent to 18.7 percent), the gap in their economic development levels is, in general, widening.

During this 30 year period the GDP of the developed capitalist nations grew from 887 billion dollars to 2,866.9 billion (in 1970 prices), and that of the developing nations increased from 148 to 658.9 billion, in other words, the gap doubled. The growth rate in the developing nations was 2.4 fold higher than during the period of colonial rule, and higher than in the industrially developed capitalist nations. Consequently, the growth parameters are clearly insufficient for convergence and equalization of development levels. For example, during 1970-1980 with a growth rate of 5.3 percent, the annual growth of liberated nations' GDP averaged 27.3 billion dollars (1970 prices); while for the developed capitalist nations the growth rate was 3.1 percent and the average annual increase was 76.6 billion dollars, that is, the annual GDP growth of the first group of nations was 2.8 fold less and the per capita growth rate was 10.2 fold less than that of the second group.

Thus, the structure of the contemporary world capitalist economy continues to remain heterogeneous. It consists of two main parts, differing with respect to development levels, that is the type of productive forces and the social form of production, and with respect to the nature of the reproduction process, since it is subject to the working of different principles. This situation requires the application of different types of economic models even though expanded reproduction is under way in both the industrially developed capitalist and the developing nations.

While in the industrially developed capitalist states one observes a transition from an industrial system of productive forces to a system of scientific-technical, and economic growth in which the contradictions are primarily of an

intensive nature. In the developing states the situation is different. They are in various stages of the origins and development of the industrial system of productive forces. However, in spite of the fact that their industrial transformation is still far from complete and that they still have a sizable preindustrial labor force, these nations are facing the contemporary scientific-technical revolution. This has a considerable influence upon the economic modernization process. Extensive forms of growth predominate here, while intensive factors have a subordinate position, even though their role is gradually increasing. According to A. Meddison's data, during 1950-1965, intensive factors accounted for only 10 percent of their growth, while now they account for 23-25 percent.

However, there is more to the problem than this. In view of the shortcomings in the methodology upon which the calculations are based, these data cannot reflect qualitative differences in the reproduction process in the centers of the world capitalist economy and in its periphery. Intensive factors in the centers, based upon scientific-technical progress, are of a higher order than in the developing world. Specifically, this involves qualitative parameters characterizing the implements of labor, the work force, and forms of their combination, as well as the conditions and results of their functioning. The same applies to extensive forms of growth, which are qualitatively incomparable in these two areas of the world capitalist economy.

All this is fundamental to one of the main contradictions in the liberated nations' development, since the extensive nature of reproduction, that is its growth from an unchanged technical base, preserves their backwardness. Its liquidation urgently requires the switch to a modern, intensive development model. However, the possibilities of such a transition are severely limited, as can be judged from, in particular, data on accumulation.

The structure of accumulation reflects the continued backwardness of the young states. It is dominated by material factors, while information, knowledge, and experience, i.e. intellectual factors, account for only one-fifth to one-fourth of fixed capital accumulation, compared to 50-60 percent in the industrial capitalist states. Although average capital accumulation has increased somewhat since independence, in the overwhelming majority of the developing nations its magnitude is clearly insufficient for the elimination of backwardness. What is more, the possibilities for increasing it are limited. Therefore, an increase in output per unit of expenditure is a necessary condition for economic modernization.

One should also keep in mind the substantial differences in reproduction's social forms. While in the imperialist centers the reproduction process has, in general, a unified basis, giving reproduction a homogeneous nature, in the developing nations, the stratified nature of reproduction makes the process heterogeneous. It has various forms, which are often not linked together in the essential manner, and extensive growth factors predominate in its structure.

Thus, a unified type of reproduction process is lacking in the world capitalist economy, since it has different technical foundations and dissimilar social forms in the centers and the periphery. This alone is responsible for the

contradictory character of interaction between these diverse structures within the common framework of the world capitalist economy. The situation is made even more complex by the social forms of the relations, subordinate to the interests of monopoly capital accumulation in the centers and therefore inseparable from the reproduction of inequality, exploitation, and dependence in the periphery.

From this it follows that there is inherent to the world capitalist economic system a structural crisis between the center and the periphery due to the substantial differences in the levels and types of their socio-economic development and the nature of their interaction.

In contrast to the energy, raw materials, food, foreign exchange - financial, and ecological crises, which can be viewed as structural-functional, this crisis is structural-organic. What is more, it has become especially acute because of the scientific and technical revolution and the influence of the structural-functional and cyclical crises in the 1970's. On an international scale it to some extent repeats the structural crises occurring in the national economies, which still maintain their nonintegrated characteristics.

While the structural-functional crises erupted on the basis of contradictions in the world capitalist economy during the scientific-technical revolution, the structural-organic crisis arose considerably earlier. Its foundations were laid during colonial rule, when, as a result of colonial policies of the metropolitan centers the historical development of a large part of humanity was artificially hindered. Beginning with the origins of the world capitalist economy, which took place during the transition to imperialism and during its growth into the imperialist epoch, the world capitalist economy was built upon an antagonistic foundation combining two sectors, differing both economically and socially.

Is it necessary to prove that as a result of unequal development under imperialism the structural gaps in the world capitalist economy have increased somewhat? This can be shown simply from the fact that the gap in per capita GDP between the industrially developed capitalist nations and the developing nations was 1:2.5 in the beginning of the 19th Century; 1:8.3 in 1913; and 1:12.1 in 1980.

During its development the technical basis of the structural-organic crisis has experienced important changes. In the world capitalist economy's centers in the imperialist period there was an evolution of the industrial system's productive forces, which under the scientific-technical revolution began to change into the scientific-technical system. In the developing nations pre-industrial and industrial labor systems were combined and were working together. Although the latter's share increased, its qualitative indicators were somewhat inferior to the levels attained in the industrially developed capitalist nations. Therefore, during the transition to the scientific-technical system the periphery began to lag even more.

The social forms which have developed during this crisis have also not remained unchanged: In the centers there have been advances which have been reflected in the consolidation and strengthening of state monopoly capitalism, in the

periphery the colonial system has collapsed and from its ruins has arisen a numerous group of politically independent states remaining in the world capitalist system's orbit. In an environment of a changing correlation of forces in the international arena this has opened new possibilities in the struggle against imperialist policies of inequality and exploitation, and for economic independence and social progress. The colonial system's collapse and growth of politically independent states has seriously sharpened the structural-organic crisis.

Thus, from the very beginning the world capitalist economy's structure evolved into two diverse sectors based on a division of labor which corresponded to the interests of monopoly capitalism in the center and ensured its reproduction. In other words, the structural-organic crisis is an inherent feature of the world capitalist economy at all stages in its development, it is inherently permanent and global, and is a component of capitalism's general crisis.

The development of productive forces on a general world capitalist economy-wide scale objectively requires a typological unification of its component parts, that is, changes in the role and place of the liberated nations in this economy. This is all the more true because its backward and weak link, the periphery, acts as a destabilizing factor in world capitalist reproduction and in the entire capitalist system. However, the fundamental contradiction is that monopolistic capital has no interest in the peripheral economy's transformation to a contemporary technical basis.

In this regard, if one assumes that the economic development levels of the liberated nations were comparable to those of the industrially developed capitalist states, then, based upon 1980 indicators, the developing nations would account for 76 percent of total GDP in the nonsocialist world, while the developed capitalist states would only account for 24 percent, i.e. there would be a 3:1 ratio, and by the year 2000 it would be 4:1. This would mean the complete liquidation of the imperialist centers' supremacy, something monopolistic capital cannot approach.

Since the structural crisis is fraught with acute economic and social consequences for the entire world capitalist system, there are active searches under way for ways and forms of overcoming it. The imperialist centers have reacted to this situation with intensified neocolonialist expansion, above all in the form of MNK [Multi-national corporations]. They attempt in this way to integrate the periphery into capitalism's industrial system as a subordinate, dependent, and exploited component. There are structural shifts involving the movement of production operations which are energy, material, and labor intensive, as well as environmentally polluting, to the developing nations. The industrialization process in the periphery has accelerated and there has been a considerable expansion of capital exports to the liberated nations. However, from the very beginnings there were internal contradictions in this course of action, since it was impossible to solve the contradictions between the capitalist centers and the periphery through the modernization of forms of neocolonial expansion.

The developing nations reacted to the structural crisis in the world capitalist economy, proposing a program for a new international economic order. In spite

of the importance and urgency of this program, and the anti-imperialist direction of its main demands, it is obvious that the reorganization of external economic relations (even in case of the complete realization of this program) is far from sufficient for the liquidation of the structural crisis. The program must be organically combined with the progressive restructuring of internal socio-economic structures in the liberated nations themselves. However, the Western powers and Japan are doing everything to prevent the implementation of the young states' demands, expressing an interest only in a recasting of socio-economic structures in the periphery which would assist in the preservation and reproduction of backwardness, dependence and exploitation.

Thus, the diversity of economic structures and reproduction processes in imperialist centers and the periphery act as objective obstacles to the periphery's effective integration into the system of world reproduction. The social forms which have been created by this contradiction and within the framework of which imperialism attempts to solve it, being subordinate to the interests of monopolistic capital's reproduction, counteract equalization in the levels and types of economic development, and intensify disproportions and instability both in the developing world, and in the world capitalist economy as a whole.

In such a situation the fundamental problems in the liberated nations' socio-economic development are those of economic independence, its relationship to development levels and types, and the relations of dependence. These problems have given rise to discussions, in the course of which these categories are sometimes even contrasted as being mutually exclusive.

More than 130 years ago, in the Communist Manifesto, K. Marx and F. Engels, formulated the thesis on the comprehensive linkages and dependence of nations upon one another in the bourgeois epoch, noting that this applies equally to material and intellectual production.* This comprehensive dependence can be observed everywhere. It changes quantitatively and qualitatively during the beginnings of the world capitalist market, and later in the world economy. It is obvious that the structure and character of this mutual dependence also changes substantially during the course of historical development with respect to the problem being examined. In the capitalist epoch it has two inherent basic variants: asymmetry and equilibrium, each of which is represented by a set of specific variants.

During the period of classical colonialism and also under contemporary neo-colonialism, asymmetric mutual dependence presumes, first of all, the existence of socio-economic structures (nations) under the influence of the law of uneven development at various stages of historical development; and second, relations of inequality and exploitation based upon gaps in the social form of relations. The greater the gap in socio-economic development levels, the wider the base for asymmetric mutual dependence, and this holds conversely.

Equilibrium in mutual dependence under capitalism is characteristic of relations between similar socio-economic structures. For example, with respect to the group of developed capitalist states, as Academician Ye. M. Primakov writes, "the problem involves mutual dependence arising as a result of the international division of labor.... This "ordinary" mutual dependence encompasses components

* K. Marx and F. Engels, *Soch. [Works]*, No. 4, p 428, and also F. Engels. *Principles of Communism*, op. cit. pp 326-327, 334.

- which are qualitatively similar, although their quantitative characteristics differ."* The same also applies to the corresponding group of liberated nations. It is important to stress that this type of mutual dependence is realized in relations of economic independence.

Within the structure of asymmetric mutual dependence one should distinguish material and social factors and qualitatively differing types of mutual dependence applicable to the epoch of colonial supremacy and to the post-colonial era.

Economic mutual dependence, based upon the international division of labor and international exchange, was from the very beginnings asymmetric, since its participants were economically heterogeneous systems (nations). The social form of this process, colonial rule, so intensified the asymmetry that dependence upon the metropolitan center acquired a dominant, decisive role within the general system of mutual dependence. The axis of symmetry is so displaced to the side of the metropolitan center that the second component of mutual dependence fades into the shadows against the background of dependence upon the metropolitan center, although this does not mean that it is absent. This has given rise to ideas about the one-sidedness of dependence, even though in reality there were mutual linkages within the framework of the colonial type of asymmetric mutual dependence.

Under colonial rule and the international division of labor, the reproduction process in the metropolitan centers undoubtedly depended upon the exploitation and robbery of the colonies. For example, a sizable share of capital accumulation came from and was financed by the colonies. They also delivered raw materials, foodstuffs, and energy; their markets served as outlets for some of the centers' output, and finally, the colonies were areas for the export of capital. The metropolitan centers had a direct interest in their highly profitable functioning. In other words, without the colonies, reproduction in the centers would have been impossible at the rates, scales, and proportions which it was conducted.

The situation changed with the breakdown of the colonial system and the growth of politically independent states upon its ruins. True, it retained the economic basis of asymmetry; the diversity of socio-economic structures and substantial gaps in development levels. However, the former social form, colonial rule, and its inherent exploitation and robbery, was liquidated. Although exploitation itself was not eliminated, political independence, assisted by favorable external conditions, opened the possibility for gradual reductions in the scale and lessening in the degree of exploitation. This led to substantial shifts in distribution relations on an international scale.

The scientific-technical revolution has intensified mutual dependence in the world capitalist economy. The social reproduction mechanism in the imperialist centers cannot function without the liberated nations. It is sufficient to note that the developing world accounts for about one-half of the extractive industries' output, while 82 percent of industrial capacity is located in the industrial capitalist nations. Under these conditions the nation state is an important factor influencing the proportions of asymmetry, since, in the new historical situation the liberated nations can conduct independent economic policies. World socialism considerably assists their struggle against imperialism's dictates, and to overcome economic backwardness.

* NARODY AZII I AFRIKI, 1980, No 5, p 19.

From this it follows that historical asymmetry in the world capitalist economy evolves from the colonial type asymmetry through various stages and forms of politically independent states in the direction of equilibrium mutual dependence, that is, towards economic independence which is not free of asymmetry. In other words, each concrete type of asymmetry, and equilibrium mutual dependence as well, has its own stage and phase of historical development.

One should stress that in view of the variability of asymmetry's proportions, at any given time each nation has its own structure of asymmetry. This is why discussions on dependency in general, for all nations independently of development stage, and level, character and structure of mutual dependence offer little for the problem's comprehension.

This all touches upon the general basis and foundation of asymmetric or equilibrium mutual dependence. Its structure and nature can change in one way or another due to the influence of a broad complex of various factors and conditions. At the very least one can distinguish four factors modifying the general pattern.

The first applies to equilibrium mutual dependence. Undoubtedly, even in this case of full equilibrium, asymmetry is not completely eliminated. For example, the group of industrially developed states is heterogeneous, since it includes nations which differ with respect to their size, population, mineral resources, economic and scientific potential, labor productivity, structural parameters of the economy, absolute and per capita GDP, and other factors. In other words, within the framework of a single development type, this group is characterized by spatial divergences in its levels, and significant differences in economic, and other, potentials. Under conditions of general economic independence this gives rise to a special, leading position by a group of the largest and most developed states, including nations aspiring for the role of leader on a global or regional scale.

The second factor concerns structural-functional crises (above all, energy crises), which have brought major changes to the structure of asymmetric mutual dependence as a result of the unevenness in development of the world capitalist economy's periphery. The lightning-like speed, less than nine years, of the accumulation of huge financial resources by a number of petroleum exporting countries has been accompanied by substantial shifts in distribution relations on a national and international level, with the Western nations and Japan still being dependent upon petroleum from this group of developing states. This has caused changes in asymmetry favoring the petroleum extracting nations, but also favoring Western nations because, having sent their capital to the West, the petroleum exporters are concerned about its protection and growth, while the capital itself is included in the aggregate capital circulation of the imperialist centers. There are also obvious counteracting processes benefiting the main petroleum extracting nations, which are also not homogeneous; a stratification process is taking place among them. All this promotes the intensified differentiation of the developing nations, having hindered petroleum importing nations' economic growth, it has affected the structure of their asymmetric mutual dependence.

The third factor is the social form of relations and the international antagonism of the two world systems.

All types of asymmetric mutual dependence are mediated and effected by the corresponding form of economic relations. The movement of goods, money, technology, and living labor does not take place in a social vacuum with respect to the means, forms, and channels of dependence. Social forms give them a specific nature and asymmetric structure. Therefore under socialism, a fundamentally different social form, relations of dependency have no place, instead there are relations of equal and mutually advantageous cooperation.

Of course, even under socialism economic ties between the nations involved embody mutually dependent relations: they depend upon one another for deliveries of goods and services (foreign trade), credits, for obtaining and using scientific and technical achievements, etc. However, this dependence upon the material elements of reproduction does not and cannot be accompanied by the same social consequences as under capitalism. Under socialism these are relations of fraternal cooperation and mutual assistance, based upon the principles of socialist internationalism. They exist between all nations of the socialist community independently of their development levels and are directed not towards the preservation but to the elimination of differences in economic development levels and to their equalization.

The situation is different under imperialism. Here economic dependence is consolidated by the loss of political independence. This is the form of subordination most advantageous to imperialism, as V. I. Lenin pointed out.* While the gaining of political independence, having given the liberated nations a new status, has meant qualitative changes in the nature of asymmetric mutual dependence, and, in general, changed proportions to their advantage, the specific size of this change is determined by developmental conditions and the political course that a given nation has selected.

Under contemporary conditions of a changing correlation of forces between the two world systems towards the advantage of socialism, any of the liberated nations has the possibility of conducting an independent economic policy. However, this possibility is not realized automatically. This is why neocolonialism strives to compel the liberated nations to hold the political course set by the imperialist powers. In order to ensure this the latter are ready to grant young states credits, subsidies, and various kinds of assistance. Depending on the circumstances, they are also ready to make definite concessions in order to guarantee their basic strategic interests in the developing world.

The fourth factor involves the structural parameters of asymmetric mutual dependence.

The structure of methods, forms, and channels of economic mutual dependence is not given once and for all. It changes in accordance with the development stage and many other specific factors. For example, after the wave of nationalization in the developing world the export of capital to this region not only did not decline, but, on the contrary, increased significantly. This is primarily the result of increased expansion by multinational corporations, which account for

*V. I. Lenin, Poln. sobr. soch. [Complete Collected Works], Vol 27, p 379.

90 percent of the exports of private entrepreneurial capital. Because of the scientific-technical revolution and the growing internationalization of the world capitalist economy the export of capital is accompanied by changes in its movement's form on the one hand, and, on the other by the attempts of national capital, above all large scale capital, to gain the most advantageous conditions of cooperation with foreign capital and, in the final account to change to its advantage the distribution proportions of surplus value -- entrepreneurial income and interest on loans.

Of course, it would be mistaken to imagine that asymmetry gradually lessens and that things always and everywhere move only in the direction of equilibrium mutual dependence. On the contrary, every specific process is characterized by great unevenness. It is contradictory and zig-zag in form and does not exclude backward movements, with asymmetry strengthening in some countries and weakening in others, and intensifying in some directions and weakening in others. It therefore cannot be excluded that counteracting factors can intensify asymmetric mutual dependence.

Bourgeois scholars cannot ignore the objective process of strengthened internationalization of world economic ties. However, in their interpretation of mutual dependence they distort its actual essence, and ignore its social forms in the world capitalist economy, striving to represent it as an indicator of an equitable partnership which has already been attained. It isn't difficult to understand that such assertions are attempts to mask imperialistic expansion in the developing nations and to prove that demands to radically restructure the system of foreign economic relations in the world capitalist economy are baseless and therefore the struggle to achieve the new international economic order should be stopped.

In reality, the shifts in the asymmetric structure of mutual dependence are an indicator of the great success attained by the national liberation movement, a result of the liberated nations' struggle against imperialism and neocolonialism during their period of independent development, and of the interaction of the national liberation movement and world socialism.

The preservation of the liberated nations' backwardness is an underlying economic basis for dependence. The world capitalist economy's growing structural gaps and the conditions of its functioning make the situation even more complex, increasing the developing nations' requirements for foreign resources (financial resources, technology, fixed productive capital, foodstuffs, training assistance, etc) essential for the liquidation of backwardness and the acceleration of development. In view of this situation, and also due to the increased internationalization of world economic linkages, the role played by foreign factors in the liberated states' economic development has understandably risen.

While the use of foreign resources helps reduce the gap in development levels, the increased dependence upon their flow is temporary, since it is a condition for gradually eliminating backwardness, and consequently dependence. In reality, one observes an opposite tendency in the overwhelming majority of states. The influx of foreign resources, while undoubtedly assisting economic growth in the

periphery, is, at the same time, completely insufficient with respect to its size, conditions, and effects not just for the reduction of the gaps, but even for maintaining their magnitude. This relative backwardness leads to increased asymmetry advantageous to the imperialist powers.

Apparently, only some nations are able to move to the level of homogeneous structures within the framework of the world capitalist economy. The entire remaining periphery remains in the trap of backwardness and asymmetric mutual dependence, although at a higher level and in a changed form. Capitalism as a system is in no condition to solve the problem of modernizing its economic structure on a world scale, and equalizing the types and structures of its basic parts. This is a reflection of this social and economic order's historical limitations and crisis.

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ACADEMIC CONFERENCE DISCUSSES REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS IN ASIA, AFRICA

Moscow OBSHCHESTVENNIYE NAUKI in Russian No 1, Jan-Feb 83 pp 212-216

[Article by Yu. Il'in, candidate in historical sciences, learned secretary of the USSR Academy of Sciences Scientific Council on African Problems: "The Revolutionary Process in the Liberated Countries of Africa and Asia"]

[Text] More than 150 scholars took part in the All-Union Scientific Conference entitled "Principles and Specifics in the Development of the Revolutionary Process in the Liberated Countries of Africa and Asia" (Tbilisi, May 1982), which was conducted by the USSR Academy of Sciences Scientific Council on the Problems of Africa, the USSR Academy of Sciences Africa Institute, the GeSSR Oriental Studies Institute, and the Section of Scientific Information on the Social Sciences of the GeSSR Academy of Sciences Presidium, in conjunction with the USSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute and the USSR Academy of Sciences Scientific Council entitled "Present-Day Problems of the Developing Countries."

The introductory speech was made by the chairman of the Scientific Council on the Problems of Africa, director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Africa Institute, and corresponding member of the USSR Academy of Sciences, An. Gromyko. He noted that the world revolutionary process, begun by the Great October Revolution, is now becoming ever-wider and deeper in the enormous spaces of the former colonial periphery, assuming the most diverse forms. An important trait of the revolutionary process in the liberated countries is the expansion of its social base and the growth of the working class's role within it. As An. Gromyko emphasized, over the course of its entire history the USSR has conducted and is conducting a course aimed at multi-faceted support of liberation movements, and this policy has received high marks in the countries of Asia and Africa.

At the first plenary session four reports were heard, which examined the basic principles and specifics of the revolutionary process in the African and Asian countries in the light of the positions set forth at the 26th CPSU Congress.

The deputy director of the USSR Academy of Sciences Africa Institute, G. Starushenko, noted that under the conditions of the deepening general crisis of capitalism not only the socialist but also the general-democratic movements are assuming an anti-capitalist thrust. The history of the national-liberation movement shows that Africa is developing in accordance with the same

principles of social progress as the other continents. The experience of the African countries has confirmed the fact that the national-liberation movement does not stop with the attainment of political independence but sets new goals, assuming new forms. In conclusion, G. Starushenko emphasized that the struggle for an equitable world economic order cannot be successful and lead to radical changes in the international position of the young states without promulgating profound social changes here.

Department chief of the USSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute N. Simoniya directed the attention of the conference participants to the fact that, for a correct understanding of the nature of the revolutionary processes in the Eastern countries and a successful forecasting of the situations arising here, it is necessary to have a clear conception of the structure of the societies in these countries and about the deep sources of those contradictions which lie at the foundation of the above-mentioned processes. The rapporteur drew the conclusion that in the present-day stage new contradictions and conflict situations have begun to appear both between the developed and the developing countries as well as within each of the two groups. This conceals within itself the genuine possibility for new break-throughs in the peripheral units of the world capitalist system, which may be carried out in various political forms.

Sh. Kurdgelashvili, a scientific staff member of the GeSSR Academy of Sciences Oriental Studies Institute, demonstrated the complex influence on the revolutionary process in the countries of the Near East of foreign as well as domestic factors and the specifics of each individual country in the region. A considerable part of the report by O. Kadzhay, a member of the Presidium of the Georgian Committee for Solidarity among the Asian and African Countries, was devoted to Islam's role in the contemporary life of these countries. During the course of the conference's work its participants heard 80 reports, which may be grouped along the lines of the following basic problems: the counter-offensive of imperialism and the growing acuteness of the liberation struggle in the African and Asian countries; the overcoming of economic backwardness and dependence of the developing countries; the struggle for social progress within the socialistically oriented countries; national movements and the solution of the nationality question; the Near-Eastern crisis and the countries of the Near East; the exacerbation of the ideological struggle; world socialism and the revolutionary process in the liberated countries; the struggle for peace and the revolutionary process.

In the speeches dealing with the first problem (G. Mirskiy, V. Kollontay, Yu. Rozaliyev, Ye. Troitskiy, and others) there was discussion concerning the sharp intensification of aggressiveness on the part of neo-colonialism, on its characteristic strategy and tactics of shifting the center of gravity in the direction of military-political forms of expansion. The broad scope of the anti-imperialist struggle in the countries of Africa, Asia, and Latin America is regarded by the United States of America and other imperialist states as a direct threat to their positions, and they are taking a course aimed at exacerbating the international situation and forcing on the arms race, at inciting nationalistic attitudes and war hysteria. It is precisely Africa and the Near East which have become the main arena for the imperialist counter-offensive, during the course of which the United States resorts to a concentration of

military forces and the threat of direct armed intervention. Various forms of subversive activities are being conducted, aimed at destabilizing progressive regimes, at splitting up the unity of the liberated countries. In Africa an ever-greater role is being assigned the RSA [Republic of South Africa] as the gendarme over the liberation movement in the southern part of this continent.

In discussing the problem of eliminating the economic backwardness and dependence of the developing countries, the speakers (G. Klimko, N. Babintseva, A. Ionova, Yu. Cherkasov, and others) noted that these countries, in the struggle for their own economic independence, are striving to overcome the neo-colonialist concepts of development, which are contradictory to their own basic interests, to approach the definition of the goals and methods of their own development in a new way. The speeches mentioned the principle of increasing the state's role in socio-economic processes, above all, in working out and implementing a long-term strategy of development, the scientific and technical policy of the state as an independent aspect of its economic function. Using specific examples, the speakers elucidated the struggle of the developing countries for freedom from economic enslavement, something possessing great anti-imperialist potential. This struggle is encountering stubborn resistance on the part of the imperialist powers, who are sabotaging the demands for establishing new international economic relations on a just and equitable basis. The subversive acts of the imperialist powers, directed at making permanent the economic dependence of the liberated countries, are convincing the latter more and more that their only reliable ally in the anti-imperialist struggle is the community of the socialist states.

The third group of reports (by Yu. Yudin, V. Chirkin, N. Gavrilov, V. Yag'ya, N. Oganessian, L. Yablochkov, L. Entin, A. Kiva, M. Babakhodzhayev, and others) analyzed the political, socio-economic, and cultural changes in the countries with a socialist orientation, the economic role of the state, the nature of the state and cooperative sectors, and the policy with regard to private capital. An animated discussion was caused by the criteria for classifying the states with a socialist orientation, the contents of the concept of the vanguard party of the workers as a particular variant of a revolutionary-democratic party.

In examining the national movements and the prospects for solving the nationality question in the liberated countries, the conference participants (B. Andrianov, R. Ismagilova, Sh. Mgoyan, and others) noted that the problems of national development within the present-day political borders and the formation of large ethnic communities are urgent for a significant number of multi-national countries of Asia and Africa. At the present time a state community is a necessary element in the formation of contemporary national-political communities. The participants in this session also discussed the problems of national development in the countries with reactionary regimes, where, under the influence of a capitalist orientation, an exacerbation of inter-ethnic relations. It was emphasized that the solution of the nationality question is closely linked with revolutionary changes in the life of the society, which is testified to, in particular, by the experience of the USSR.

Having arisen more than a third of a century ago, the Near Eastern conflict, into which dozens of states have been drawn, to this day has not only not been resolved but threatens, as never before, international peace. Those who spoke on this question (V. Gusarov, G. Aliyev, V. Kopin, K. Samvelyan, and others) placed their greatest emphasis on the Palestinian problem, which has exerted an ever-increasing influence on the Arab anti-imperialist movement as a whole and on the conditions under which the progressive patriotic forces are fighting in each of the countries.

The ideological-political struggle in the liberated countries has developed around the problems being advanced by the socio-economic requirements of their social development. The most important traits of this struggle are the expansion of the number of its participants and the class-political sharpness of the conflicts. Ye. Medrzhinskaya, N. Kosukhin, O. Martyshin, M. Akhmedova, I. Nikiforova, and others demonstrated the colossal attractive force of the revolutionary changes in the USSR--the world's first socialist state. They noted the importance for the revolutionary process of forming the revolutionary consciousness of the masses, the need to step up the struggle against the ideology of neo-colonialism, which is constantly renewing its conceptual baggage in accordance with the strategy of imperialism. They placed particular stress on the continuing influence of the revolutionary ideology in Africa and Asia, as well as the importance of studying this process.

The revolutionizing influence of the successes of world socialism on the national-liberation movement were examined in the speeches by R. Andreasyan, V. Lopatov, G. Rubinshteyn, and others. They pointed out, in particular, that approximately a score of the young, independent countries have become states with a socialist orientation, that an ever-large number of liberated countries from the reserve of capitalism have been converted to the reserve of socialism, and this, in turn, facilitates their economic and socio-political progress.

The role of the liberated countries in the struggle for peace was the subject of the speeches by N. Kikvadze, D. Baratashvili, V. Popov, T. Deych, V. Lebedev, and others. The joint actions of the socialist states and the liberated countries of Africa and Asia with regard to maintaining and ensuring peace, disarmament, and transforming the African continent into a nuclear-free zone and the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace could be, in the opinion of the conference participants, the most important factor in the successful political, socio-economic, and cultural development of the liberated countries and, to a considerable extent, facilitate the deepening of the revolutionary process in these states.

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INTERNATIONAL

BOOK STRESSES EXPORT ADVERTISING AS CHANNEL FOR PROPAGANDA

Moscow FOREIGN TRADE in English No 2, Feb 83 pp 46-47

[Text]

Over recent years trade publicity is becoming a more and more important factor for advancing Soviet goods on the world markets. The publicity measures being taken by foreign trade organizations as specific, comprehensive campaigns and as separate actions are aimed at widely informing foreign countries' business circles about the ever increasing possibilities of the Soviet exports, popularizing the offered goods and services, promoting their realization and in the long run at increasing the export trade volume.

At the same time the study of such a complex and social contemporary phenomenon as publicity shows that the functions of foreign trade publicity are not restricted by purely economic tasks and that the scope of influence of various publicity means on the given audience is multifunctional.

* N.B. Filchikova in her monograph has deeply analyzed the role and place of foreign trade publicity in the system of foreign economic publicity media as a whole.* Widely using theoretical researches and great practical material on publicity the author gives not only a general estimate of the present state of Soviet foreign trade publicity in its ideological aspect but also reveals a complex mechanism of devices and methods for utilizing the means of influencing a potential foreign customer.

The book absolutely correctly considers export publicity as one of the instruments of foreign economic informative-propagandistic activity. The author, stressing that the aims and tasks, forms and

justly points out that the maximum effectiveness of their propagandistic force is achieved when they are used in close combination with each other. In this connection of indubitable scientific and practical interest is the monograph's section dealing with arranging exhibitions and fairs as measures which make it possible to apply comprehensively various advertizing means in combination with a visual demonstration of the products being advertized. The methods determining the specific groups, their socio-psychological characteristics and activity are worthy of mention.

This problem is very close to one of the major subjects of the monograph — the development of the concept concerned with a comprehensive approach to the advertizing activity such as advertizing campaigns. The reader is offered a geographical communicative model of the advertizing campaign, its simplified scheme. The consideration of peculiarities of advertizing campaigns depending on the specificity of the item, concrete examples of the results of such campaigns equips specialists with the knowledge of the particular methods of their organization.

The book uses large factual material gained by Soviet foreign trade organizations' advertizing divisions. That is why elaboration of scientific concepts of the modern foreign trade publicity has a practical orientation. This is the study of the theoretical aspect; it comprehensively considers organizational, creative and staffing questions, the successful solving of which makes it possible to draw up a system approach to the development of our publicity from the point of view of improving its informative-propagandistic orientation.

At the same time I would like to make several critical comments. In my opinion, the book insufficiently and what is important not systematically presented the problems of theory and practice of prestige advertisement, "Public Relations". In the work dealing with the informative-propagandistic aspects of publicity this section could well be an integral part in complex with all the rest. It is also to be pointed out that the characteristics of the means of mass information used for disseminating the ideolo-

methods of publicity are to a great extent determined by a certain social system, warns against the temptation to change our publicity methods used on the capitalist market to the traditional methods of bourgeois advertizers. Comments criticizing the bourgeois concepts of publicity occupy the whole chapter.

In the monograph socialist publicity opposes the bourgeois one as the former along with other means of foreign economic propaganda upholds the noble aims of continuing and developing détente and peaceful cooperation between peoples. The author sees the main direction of perfecting the advertizing activity as a means promoting a further increase of the USSR foreign trade effectiveness and with this questions concerning training personnel for conducting advertizing activity are closely related.

When discussing modern forms and methods of publicity activity abroad N.B. Filchikova makes a comparative analysis of the effectiveness of utilizing various means of the communication media. Using the example of Avtoexport's advertizing activity it is seen that publication of materials on achievements of Soviet automotive industry in foreign periodicals makes it possible to show objectively the bright facets of the Soviet socialist way of life. These materials become especially convincing when a truthful evaluation of our life is given by foreign press representatives after visiting leading enterprises in the USSR for whom the Association organizes a well thought out programme, interesting trips and arranges meetings with Soviet people not only at enterprises but outside of working hours.

The analysis of Soviet advertizing films also confirms the fact that along with the direct showing of a specific export item the viewer sees a wide panorama of scientific and technical progress in most varied spheres of our country's economy. For example, the advertizing film, "The Minsk Tractor Factory", introduces a foreigner not only to the industrial base manufacturing the world's well-known Soviet tractors Belarus but also is a picture about work, study, life and leisure of the factory's workers.

When considering the question on the role and significance of certain publicity means the author

gical influence of publicity (pp. 92-123) are evidently not adequate. With the sufficiently detailed elucidation of such communication channels as the press and cinema, radio and television advertising problems occupy an unjustly small place in the book. The chapter "Peculiarities of the advertising campaign depending on the specificity of the item being advertised" (pp. 141-155) in which this main attention is given to the activities of V/O Mezhdunarodnaya Kniga and - only one paragraph of seven lines to V/O Machinoexport, a leading Association dealing in export equipment, has the same drawback.

However, the above disadvantages do not diminish the general positive impression of the book.

The work is of undubitable interest not only to advertising specialists but also to those engaged in Soviet foreign trade.

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* N.B. Filchikova. *Publicity As A Form of Foreign Economic Informative-Propagandistic Activity*, Moscow, Moscow University Publishing House, 1982, 168 pp. (in Russian)

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